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ABSTRACT

This teaching unit represents a specific "dramatic moment" in history that can allow students to delve into the deeper meanings of selected landmark events and explore their wider context in the great historical narrative. Studying a crucial turning point in history helps students realize that history is an ongoing, open-ended process, and that the decisions made today create the conditions of tomorrow's history. This unit focuses on travelers who visited Muslim regions of Asia and Africa during the 19th century. Each lesson in the unit covers a different type of traveler's experience, including explorers, pilgrims, tourists, archaeologists, artists, colonial officials and their families, journalists, photographers, and literary figures, whose expressions range from travel narratives to scientific writings, letters, dispatches, poems, paintings, maps, and photographs. By using this approach, the student becomes aware that choices are made by real human beings and that these decisions are the result of specific factors. Within the unit are teacher background materials and lesson plans with student resources. The unit is designed as a supplement to the customary course materials. The various lessons are written for different grade levels, and they can usually be adapted to a slightly higher or lower level. Lesson plans include a variety of ideas and approaches for the teacher that can be lengthened or shortened. Student resources accompany the lesson plans and contain primary source documents, handouts, student background materials, and a 23-item annotated bibliography. (BT)

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Images of the Orient

Nineteenth-Century European Travelers to Muslim Lands

A Unit of Study for Grades 9-12

Lord Byron. Steel engraving by William Finden, printed on the frontispiece to the 1841 edition of *Childe Harolde's Pilgrimage.*

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Images of the Orient

Nineteenth-Century European Travelers to Muslim Lands

A Unit of Study for Grades 9-12

by
Susan L. Douglass

COUNCIL ON ISLAMIC EDUCATION

and

NATIONAL CENTER FOR HISTORY IN THE SCHOOLS
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Images of the Orient

Nineteenth-Century European Travelers to Muslim Lands

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Teacher's Guide

Approach and Rationale

In 1997, the Council on Islamic Education (CIE) began coproducing and copublishing teaching units with the National Center for History in the Schools (NCHS). By collaborating on an organizational level, CIE and NCHS are able to benefit from each organization's respective strengths and reinforce the goal of producing much-needed resources for teachers. In order to broaden the scope of students' historical understanding, CIE and NCHS share the aspiration of addressing traditional topics from new or multiple perspectives as well as addressing underrepresented topics whose exploration helps complete the tapestry of history.

To this end, we have developed the following teaching unit titled *Images of the Orient: Nineteenth-Century European Travelers to Muslim Lands*. This adds to nearly 50 NCHS teaching units that are the fruit of collaborations between history professors and experienced teachers of both United States and World History. They represent specific dramatic episodes in history from which you and your students can pause to delve into the deeper meanings of selected landmark events and explore their wider context in the great historical narrative.

By studying a crucial episode in history, the student becomes aware that choices had to be made by real human beings, that those decisions were the result of specific factors, and that they set in motion a series of historical consequences. We have selected dramatic moments that best bring alive that decision-making process. We hope that through this approach, your students will realize that history is an ongoing, open-ended process, and that the decisions they make today create the conditions of tomorrow's history.

Teaching units produced by CIE and NCHS are based on **primary sources**, taken from documents, artifacts, journals, diaries, newspapers and literature from the period under study. As you know, a primary source is a **firsthand** account of any event in history. What we hope to achieve using primary source documents in these lessons is to remove the distance that students feel from historical events and to connect them more intimately with the past. In this way we hope to recreate for your students a sense of "being there," a sense of seeing history through the eyes of the very people who were making decisions. This will help your students develop historical empathy, to realize that history is not an impersonal process divorced from real people like themselves. At the same time, by analyzing primary sources, students will actually practice the historian's craft, discovering for themselves how to analyze evidence, establish a valid interpretation and construct a coherent narrative in which all the relevant factors play a part.

Content and Organization

Within this unit, you will find: 1) **Teacher Background Materials** and 2) **Lesson Plans with Student Resources.** This unit is designed as a supplement to your customary course materials. We have chosen to pitch the various lessons on different grade levels, and they can usually be adapted to a slightly higher or lower level.

The **Teacher Background** section should provide you with a good overview of the entire unit and with the historical information and context necessary to link the specific **Dramatic Moment** to the larger historical narrative. You may consult it for your own use, and you may choose to share it with students if they are of a sufficient grade level to understand the materials.

The **Lesson Plans** include a variety of ideas and approaches for the teacher which can be elaborated upon or cut as you see the need. These lesson plans contain student resources that accompany each lesson. These resources consist of primary source documents, handouts, and student background materials, and in many cases, a bibliography.

In our series of teaching units, each collection can be taught in several ways. You can teach all of the lessons offered on any given topic, or you can select and adapt the ones that best support your particular course needs. We have not attempted to be comprehensive or prescriptive in our offerings, but rather to give you an array of enticing possibilities for in-depth study, at varying grade levels. We hope that you will find the lesson plans exciting and stimulating for your classes. We also hope that your students will never again see history as a boring sweep of inevitable facts and meaningless dates but rather as an endless treasure of real life stories and an exercise in analysis and reconstruction.

Teacher Background Materials

I. Unit Overview

The unit consists of a dramatic moment and six lessons arranged according to categories of travelers who visited Muslim regions of Asia and Africa during the 19th century. Each lesson covers a different type of travel experience, including explorers, pilgrims, tourists, archaeologists, artists, colonial officials and their families, journalists, photographers, and literary figures. The lessons feature excerpts from written works or other artifacts they produced, sampling a few of the thousands of European and American experiences of travel in these regions during the 19th century. Their expressions range from formal travel narratives and memoirs to scientific writings, personal and public letters, official or journalistic dispatches, poems, paintings, drawings, prints, maps and photographs. At the end of the unit are culminating activities designed to facilitate overall analysis and conclusions about the impact of travel experiences on Western attitudes about these regions and their culture, and how they may have affected Western countries' policies and public attitudes over the longer term.

In order to convey representative meaning and sufficient depth, lengthier excerpts have seemed necessary in some cases. Thus, teachers may need to select from among the readings in each lesson, or utilize selected lessons. In order to bring out the full variety of travel experiences contained in the unit, teachers may profitably employ a cooperative learning approach. Individuals or small groups may be assigned to cover one of the lessons and present it to the class, or each group may cover one or more excerpt in each lesson. Presentations and discussions allow the entire class to benefit from in-depth exposure to some of the material, with at least some coverage of the whole. An additional advantage, of course, is that students who must summarize and present conclusions on the readings will be more likely to "make the material their own" than the passive reader in a large group.

Auxiliary materials include optional student use of introductory readings for each section. Two maps are provided, one showing European colonial possessions in the year 1900, and the other identifying the location of each traveler's exploits featured in the excerpts. The maps may be photocopied and distributed at the beginning of the unit. Activities to stimulate analysis and discussion focus on interpreting these cultural reflections of travel, and how they influenced the formation of a European view of this particular culture. Students are also encouraged to explore how expressions of travel experiences reflect both the viewer and the viewed. Optional culminating activities for the entire unit are suggested in the Lesson Plans that accompany Lesson Five, on Literary Figures.

Rationale: Teaching with Travel Artifacts and Literature

Travel literature is rich in layers of meaning. A famous quotation from Benjamin Disraeli reveals the source of this complexity: *"Like all great travelers, I have seen more than I remember, and remember more than I have seen."* Memoirs and other artifacts of travel give us the opportunity to view the travelers and the subject described through several lenses. First, we glimpse a specific time and place, captured in word or image by the traveler's accidental presence. Second, the word or image becomes a lens through which to view the traveler's personality, as he or she often reveals details of family background, education, social status, and influences on personal development. The reader can use these clues to discern how the traveler's attitudes shape his or her description of the

scene. Third, we can often assess how the audience at the time of writing might have perceived the work, by using clues in text or image, or aided by knowledge of the "mood" and significant events during the specific period. Fourth, modern readers or viewers can reflect on their own reactions to the traveler's attitudes and to the place described, helping to clarify attitudes toward other societies and cultures. Just as many travelers journeyed to faraway lands to find themselves, readers can discover something about themselves from studying the travel of others.

Study of travel artifacts helps students gain insight into the scope and nature of cultural contacts experienced by Europeans during the 19th-century, and how these contacts defined and modified Europe's perception of other cultures. By comparing and contrasting a wide variety of travel expressions, students can appreciate how they helped to shape 19th-century attitudes by communicating their experiences to the Western audience at home. Analysis of these excerpts also helps students to challenge deeply ingrained stereotypes and appreciate the complexity of Europe's long-standing and historically significant relationship with Muslim cultures and the regions where they form a majority of the population. Students can consider how this relationship influenced Western culture itself and how it affected decision-making and the construction of knowledge in many fields.

In addition, the excerpts offer a rich opportunity to supplement the usually rushed textbook survey of 19th-century imperialism and delve into some strikingly revealing historical details in a very personal and interesting way. While the collection cannot be construed as an exhaustive survey of this enormous body of primary source material, the unit does include travelers from a variety of European countries, of travel destinations and motivations, of artifacts and styles. Travel is truly broadening for the voyager and for those who stay home.

II. Unit Context

This unit may be taught in conjunction with World History, World Cultures or Western Civilization courses, as a supplement to units on the 19th-century Age of Imperialism. Teachers of World or European literature will find the excerpts and historical background useful in providing context for the study of 19th-century European (and in a few instances, American) culture. The activities and questions also include cross-references to important literary figures and artists from this formative period. The student materials are targeted for grades 9-12, where most modern history courses are taught. Teachers who cover the period in grades 6-8, however, might find the unit useful as background material, and they may select a few of the less difficult literary and pictorial excerpts. Similarly, middle school teachers of world history can adapt the activities that accompany these excerpts for their younger students.

III. Correlation to National Standards for World History

Images of the Orient: Nineteenth-Century European Travelers to Muslim Lands provides teaching materials to support the *National Standards for World History* (National Center for History in the Schools, 1996). Lessons within this unit assist students in attaining the following Standards:

ERA 7: An Age of Revolutions, 1750-1914

4C: The student understands cultural, intellectual, and educational trends in 19th century Europe

Therefore, the student is able to:

9-12 Evaluate major movements in literature, music, and the visual arts and ways in which they expressed or shaped social and cultural values of industrial society. [Draw upon visual and literary sources] **(throughout, but especially in Lessons 2, 3 and 6)**

5A: The student understands connections between major developments in science and technology and the growth of industrial economy and society

Therefore, the student is able to:

5-12 Explain how new inventions, including the railroad, steamship, telegraph, photography, and internal combustion engine, transformed patterns of global communication, trade, and state power. [Analyze cause-and-effect relationships] **(throughout, but especially in Lessons 1, 2, 4, and 5)**

5C: The student understands the causes of European, American and Japanese imperial expansion.

Therefore, the student is able to:

5-12 Describe advances in transportation, medicine, and weapons technology in Europe in the later 19th century and assess the importance of these factors in the success of imperial expansion. [Analyze multiple causation.] **(mainly in Lessons 4 and 5)**

7-12 Analyze the motives that impelled several European powers to undertake imperial expansion against peoples of Africa, Southeast Asia, and China. [Interrogate historical data] **(throughout the unit, with emphasis on North Africa, South and Southwest Asia)**

5D: THE STUDENT UNDERSTANDS TRANSFORMATIONS IN SOUTH, SOUTHEAST, AND EAST ASIA IN THE ERA OF THE "NEW IMPERIALISM."

Therefore, the student is able to:

5-12 Analyze changes in Indian society and economy under British rule. [Interrogate historical data] **(In Lessons 4 and 5)**

5E: THE STUDENT UNDERSTANDS THE VARYING RESPONSES OF AFRICAN PEOPLES TO WORLD ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS AND EUROPEAN IMPERIALISM.

Therefore, the student is able to:

9-12 Analyze the sources and effectiveness of military, political, and religious resistance movements against European conquest in such regions as Algeria, Morocco, West Africa, the Sudan, Ethiopia, and South Africa [Analyze cause-and-effect] **(In Lesson 5, with emphasis on the Sudan)**

6: THE STUDENT UNDERSTANDS MAJOR GLOBAL TRENDS FROM 1750 TO 1914.

Therefore, the student is able to:

7-12 Explain major changes in world political boundaries during this era and analyze why a relatively few European states achieved such extensive military, political and economic power in the world. [Analyze cause-and-effect relationships] **(throughout the unit, with emphasis on French, British and Russian influence in North Africa as well as Southwest, Central and South Asia)**

IV. Unit Objectives

1. To investigate, through analysis of primary sources, the variety of European travel motives and experiences in order to understand the political, technological and cultural factors that encouraged expansion of travel to Muslim regions.
2. To identify the means by which European/Western images of a cultural construct called "the Orient" or "the East" were transmitted during the 19th century, and how fascination with these lands and cultures found expression in the European domestic environment.
3. To explore the complexity of the Western image of Muslim regions and cultures as reflected in travel accounts, journalism, and artistic or literary artifacts of travel.
4. To relate expressions of travel to Muslim lands during the nineteenth century to the development of the Western image of its own and foreign cultures, and to relate these images to the cultural and political context of the Age of Imperialism.

V. Introduction to *Images of the Orient: Nineteenth-Century European Travelers to Muslim Lands*

When we consider the impact of travel on culture, we should take into account how it affects those who stay home as well as the travelers themselves. We know how Marco Polo's travel memoir stimulated Europeans' desire to know more about the world and its riches. From the mid-fifteenth century on, Europe's growing class of readers feasted their eyes on literary and pictorial descriptions of African, Asian and native American people and landscapes. They were introduced to new foods, crops and consumer products. Maps helped order these descriptions in a sharply focused spatial representation of the world and Europe's place in it. Accounts of foreign societies–especially those viewed as "more primitive" than Europe's–stimulated philosophers to question Europe's social order and the relationship between citizens and government. Initially a curiosity, native peoples were glorified as examples of Natural Man, even while colonial expansion threatened their existence. The governments and societies of cultures viewed as "more civilized," like those of the Near East, India and China, were also objects of wonder and scrutiny, as European observers ordered their impressions and judgments relative to their own cultural values. With the increase in travel and its expressions, these ideas about other people and places formed and reformed, crystallizing into recognizable shapes that reflected both the cultures under observation and the culture of the observers.

Lesser known expressions of travel have also deeply affected the course of civilization. The 11th-century journeys of European scholars to Toledo, Spain, brought to European intellectuals translations of Arabic works on science, philosophy, and other topics. Diplomats were frequently the first Europeans exposed to fine products displayed in foreign courts, such as textiles, furnishings, and architecture. Through diplomatic gifts and exchanges of court artists and artisans, new goods and manufacturing techniques were introduced to Europe and became the germ of new industries. One example of this cross-pollination from East to West was Europe's luxury textile-weaving industry, whose techniques and designs spread from Muslim Spain and Sicily to mainland Italy, then to France and northern Europe. By the 18th century, textile trade had become a highly competitive and lucrative business between Europe and the Levant, forming one of the foundations of the Industrial Revolution. Far Eastern techniques and designs in ceramic manufacture spread from China to the Near East, and then on to Europe. By the 18th century, Ottoman ceramics and Chinese porcelain had spawned industrial ceramic production in Delft, Holland, Staffordshire, England and elsewhere. A mania for Far and Near Eastern designs and goods ran rampant in fashionable 18th-century circles, boosting sales of imports and domestic imitations. Ultimately, each of these important transfers can be traced back to an object that came under the admiring gaze of a traveler from Europe.

From the medieval period onward, records of European travel include accounts of commercial and diplomatic voyages, exploration, and religious pilgrimages. While all of these early accounts described people and places—often quite fancifully and unreliably, voyages for exploration and knowledge-gathering increased after 1450. Because many of these voyages explored uncharted lands, the expeditions usually included in their entourage people skilled in various scientific fields. Europeans' approach to neighboring lands was often more casual. When Napoleon invaded Egypt in 1789, however, he brought on his military expedition scientists, scholars of religion and antiquities. The Muslim chronicler al-Jabarti tells of the roles that knowledge of Islam and Muslim culture and display of European scientific expertise and instruments played in the conquest. By the end of the

eighteenth century, travel by Europeans into distant geographic and cultural realms had become a well-established practice for members of the upper classes. Poets and artists infused their works with themes about faraway places and cultures. The Romantic movement of the late 18th and early 19th centuries–glorifying the faraway and exotic–was greatly stimulated by Europe's widening horizons. Travel memoirs became very popular forms of literary entertainment. While readers of Ludovico Varthema's 15th century travel account might have forgiven–or even believed–fanciful curiosities like his "eye-witness" description of unicorns kept in the Sacred Mosque at Makkah, by the 18th century, a body of excellent literature had raised expectations. Ogier de Busbecq's 16th-century account of diplomatic journey to Constantinople on behalf of Emperor Maximillian was renowned for its insights into Ottoman Turkey during Sulayman the Magnificent's reign. Lady Montague's description of Ottoman society from an elite woman's perspective set the standard by which later travel accounts were judged. By the late 18th century, travel accounts had almost become "professional," and were strenuously reviewed for depth of insight and new information for the stay-at-home reader.

During the following century, new expressions of travel developed. Adding to the hundreds of travel narratives published during the 19th century, other artifacts of European travel like paintings, photography, museum exhibitions and scientific articles were presented to the public. Travel notes sometimes formed the germ of more systematic, "scientific" expositions on geography and ethnography. Antiquities were unearthed under increasingly sophisticated conditions, developing archaeology as a discipline. These emerging sciences profoundly influenced Westerners' view of their civilization's identity and roots in the past. Visual arts and design were influenced by exposure to exotic folk art, court styles and trade. The advent of photography affected all of these fields.

Europeans' and Americans' tendency to travel increased dramatically during the 19th century. The Grand Tour of Europe's renowned sites was already an important part of a privileged young man's education in the late 18th century, and even of some suitably chaperoned young women. After the 1830's, improvements in transportation made travel less expensive and easier, bringing tourism within the reach of the middle class. By 1830, steamships crossed the Mediterranean on regular schedules at affordable prices. By the 1850's, weekly passenger services from major ports connected with northern European lines. After 1860, rail lines connected the hinterlands of Europe to its seaports, and from the end of the century, cross-continental routes like the Orient Express linked European cities like Berlin and Vienna to the Middle East. Of course, inland travelers still resorted to traditional forms of transport. Travel journals are full of adventures deep into the hinterland via native transport, with the author proudly claiming to be the first to set a European foot on the spot. Such accounts made their memoirs popular and interesting. It had become easy to get there, but there was still much to explore, learn and report home about.

The expanding political and commercial reach of European nations into Asia, Africa and the Americas was a major stimulus to career-hopefuls and casual travelers alike. Whereas just a few sons of nobles might have ventured overseas to seek their fortune in earlier centuries, many could now afford to give it a try without much risk. Unlike the Age of Exploration, when DaGama, Cortez or Henry Hudson braved the wilderness and fought their way to glory, the strands of empire were becoming sufficiently well-knit to accommodate the career plans of less robust, ordinary folk. During the 19th century, trading posts, religious missions, and colonies became well-established and employed people in many specialized positions. Expanding imperial domains held out for the sons of Europe the promise of glorious careers in colonial administration. Among these hopefuls were lesser

sons of the aristocracy or middle-class folk hoping to rise a few rungs on the social ladder. Wives went along and raised children in an exotic environment. In the wake of pioneers and professionals, travel became more secure and comfortable for tourists, though it remained dangerous and romantic enough to titillate. Travelers from Britain, France, and other Great Powers, for example, could acquire letters of passage, or *firmans*, from local potentates through diplomatic leverage. Treaties called "Capitulations," originating for the protection of medieval merchant enclaves, were broadened during the 19th century into a system that allowed foreign nationals to live overseas according to the law of their own lands, enjoying many privileges and resorting to extraterritorial courts if they got into a scrape. Extraterritorial rights also gave Europeans, their agents, and clients, a firm foothold in the economy and politics of the host country.

A dragoman

The growing wealth of the entrepreneurial classes expanded travel possibilities and comforts. Great cities acquired hotels where tourists could enjoy living standards more like those to which they were accustomed, and avoid more contact with foreigners than they wished. Tourism-based professions grew up at popular travel destinations that eagerly served their clientele with translators, called *dragomans*, who also served as personal servants, cooks, and guides, all rolled into one frequently exotic character. Some prominent 19th-century travelers began as casual visitors on a Grand Tour and became life-long sojourners in the regions and cultures they came to love. Among these were numerous women, who often claimed that they enjoyed better access to sights and information than men—and not just in the exclusive domains of women. Many found freedom and fulfillment not available to women in European society.

Travel and Cultural Perceptions of East and West

As early as Roman times, the nearest "foreign cultures" to Europe were North Africa and the Eastern Mediterranean with Arabia Felix ("fortunate Arabia") beyond–the region now variously labeled "the Near East" or "the Middle East." The Mediterranean was the gateway to distant parts of Asia, route of Alexander the Great, Roman emperors, medieval friars, and later Marco Polo. The African Sahara proved a barrier to deeper knowledge and exploration beyond the Mediterranean coast, though tantalizing information and goods trickled north along the caravan routes. From 650 CE on, Muslim culture began to develop into a strong and vibrant, well defined civilization that spread into Africa, Asia and southern Europe. From the 7th to the 18th century, many types of interaction took place between Europe and the Muslim lands at its southern and eastern doorstep. During the 19th century, these interactions greatly intensified, and even though the relationship changed, it cannot be characterized as merely a one-sided onslaught of rising European power, as many textbooks portray the Age of Imperialism.

The relationship between the two cultural foci–Muslim and Western civilization–is multifaceted and sometimes contradictory. Along with trade and warfare, cultural influences were exchanged over the centuries. From the medieval period to the 16th century, the balance of cultural and economic exchange was heavier on the Muslim side, a fact of which contemporary Europeans were well aware. Even 19th century writers, who witnessed the tipping of the balance toward Western influence on the East, often mention Western civilization's long-term debt to Muslim and other Eastern cultures. Religion is another prominent aspect of the relationship. Not only was awareness of the contrast between Christianity and Islam a significant factor, but also the differences between Western and Eastern Christianity, between Ashkenazi and Sephardic Judaism. The monotheistic heritage involved a multiplicity of cultural nuances.

Islam, Christianity and Judaism share many common beliefs, teachings and Prophets, as well as common geographic origins and pilgrimage sites. Their differences have aroused both interest and tension, sometimes taking the form of scholarly and theological argument, and on occasion erupting into conquest and military conflict, though these episodes were caused by many factors. Doubtless, the religious divide lay at the center of a growing European perception that cultural differences between themselves and others could be characterized in dichotomizing terms as "the East and the West." Other common 19th century terms for these contrasting perceptions were "the Orient and the Occident." The quaint, romantic, but very ordinary German equivalent is *Abendland* and *Morgenland*, translatable as "the land of the setting sun and the land of the rising sun." Obviously, these broad geographic terms blotted out a great deal of cultural and religious diversity and even cartographic inaccuracy. For example, part of what was lumped together under "the East," such as North Africa, actually lay due south of Europe. North Africa seemed to fit into the "Oriental" category due to its Muslim majority and cultural influence from farther east. Muslim Spain and Portugal were a similar case. In spite of their lack of precision, these dichotomizing terms were ubiquitous in travel accounts and other contexts during the 19th century.

As the primary source excerpts in this unit show, use of terms East and West, Orient and Occident underwent significant development and transformation during the 19th century. These deceivingly simple geographic terms gradually took on the burden of defining whole civilizations' psychological characteristics, social mores and cultural patterns, with their attractive and repulsive features. Travelers and other writers refer to a fixed set of qualities belonging to "the Oriental," as opposed to "the Occidental" mind. Karl Marx even defined economics in terms of an East-West dichotomy when he spoke deterministically of an "Asian mode of production." Another common stereotype that appears in the travel literature is a fatalistic assessment of political life in the East as "Oriental despotism." While the symbols and stereotypes associated with the various regions of "the Orient" or "the East" were not uniform, nonetheless China, India, and the Muslim lands were often lumped together in a perception of "the mysterious Orient." These terms and their symbols have played significant roles in Western culture. In 19th-century travel literature, these loose descriptive terms help transmit perceptions of others, but they also help to explain and define Europe's emerging dominance in the world to Europeans themselves–often in self-congratulatory terms, but often with a sense of self-doubt as well. In the traveler, these perceptions are magnified by the experience of interacting directly with an alien culture–one which is by turns attractive and repulsive to them.

Numerous modern commentators have drawn attention to European characterization of foreign cultures, and its effect on Western self-understanding and its relationship with the rest of the world. The proximity of the Muslim world to Europe, its geographic and strategic importance, and tensions

among the three monotheistic religious traditions made the relationship between "Islam" and "the West" strikingly complex and lastingly significant. Western observers have viewed Muslims as highly cultured, materially and spiritually powerful, and even worthy of imitation in some ways, but as an adversary and object of fear and hatred in others. Norman Daniels argued in *Islam and the West* that Europeans' relationships with Muslims have helped to define Western cultural identity over the past millennium. In his seminal book *Orientalism*, Edward Said has analyzed the roles of Western scholars, commentators, politicians and purveyors of popular culture in constructing an image of "the Orient," perpetuating that biased image, and acting upon that distorted understanding in educational, political and cultural policy. These analyses demonstrate how Europe's awareness of possessing something called "Western civilization" is defined in many ways by perceiving itself in contrast to "Eastern civilization," most significantly "Muslim civilization," with which it had many commonalties and a long period of direct contact. Studying 19th-century expressions of travel enables us to trace the development of these images and their transformation into popular perceptions among the Western public that persist even today.

Strategic and Cultural Interest in Muslim Regions

Throughout the medieval period, and until the Age of Exploration, the predominantly Muslim southern and eastern Mediterranean regions were *the* destination for foreign travel, whether one was going there, or going somewhere else beyond. Even after that, the Near or Middle East remained a bridge to points farther east. Circumnavigation of Africa never really changed that fact significantly, and the invention of steamships, railroads, and the Suez Canal restored the importance of the Middle Eastern link, which has endured in many ways even to the present. Apart from their strategic location, Muslim lands held a great fascination for Europeans. The famous 18th-century writers Boswell and Johnson recorded this exchange as they were touring in Scotland:

Boswell:

> *"I should wish to go and see some country totally different from what I have been used to; such as Turkey, where religion and everything else are different."*

Johnson replied:

> *"Yes Sir; there are two objects of Curiosity, the Christian world and the Mahometan [e.g. Muslim] world. All the rest may be considered as barbarous."*[1]

Their banter captures the scope of the world Europeans thought they knew well at that time, as well as their attitudes about themselves and others. Even after Europeans had explored every other coast and continent, the Middle East and adjacent regions remained prominent destinations, because of their proximity and inherent attractiveness.

Politically and economically, these regions were an arena of potential gain for the emerging Great Powers of Europe. Napoleon's invasion was so significant in bringing Europe's waxing power and technology abruptly to the attention of the Muslim world that 1798 is seen as heralding a new era in European/Muslim relations. The intense contest for domination of Muslim regions of Africa and Asia colored the way knowledge about Muslim regions and their culture was gathered, defined, organized and applied. The growth of Western historical consciousness surged during the 19th century, for example, sparking avid interest in the historical roots of Western civilization. Proceeding

from the Bible and classical sources, the path of this search led backwards to the Middle East—Asia Minor, the Mediterranean basin, the Fertile Crescent and into the desert beyond. Archaeology became a spiritual quest very much like pilgrimage, and intensified the perception of links between West and East, even while the search for cultural and religious roots raised complex questions about which group enjoyed the stronger claim to ownership of the lands that formed the cradle of both Western and Muslim civilizations. Just as Napoleon's invasion gave an enormous boost to Egyptology, the end of World War I opened new opportunities for political, cultural and economic domination as well as archeological study of the entire Middle East. The "Eastern Question"—who would ultimately rule the Middle East—was "solved" after World War I, when former Ottoman lands were divided up among France, Britain and other European powers. Archaeologists and political analysts Gertrude Bell and W. Flinders Petrie, whose post-World War I writings are excerpted in this unit, expressed in their varied careers and writings how power and cultural relationships were intertwined.

Another reflection of the complexity of Europe's relationship with these regions is the metamorphosis of dedicated 19th-century travelers from one category into another. Missionaries, for example, sometimes became diplomats. Traveling journalists, poets and novelists became statesmen. Archaeologists, scientists and explorers served colonial governments as military and political advisors, or even spies, a role of which many had long been suspected by locals anyway. Transforming in the other direction, many colonial officials became leisure-time antiquarians, literary translators and promoters of the arts of the lands where they were posted. As cameras became more practical, all types of travelers became photographers. Even stay-at-home Europeans became "virtual" travelers. Artists used photographs, exhibitions and travel descriptions to "accurately" paint highly romanticized faraway scenes without leaving home. Such homebound works are also expressions of European travel, and so are the industrial products –illustrated books, wallpaper, dishes, fabrics, architectural decoration and jewelry–whose design reflects the influence of travelers who recorded and published samples of decorative arts from the world's historical and living cultures.

Studying many different expressions of travel to the region during the 19th century can help us, today, to understand the relationship of the West toward Muslim regions during a crucial period for both cultures. It can help us to assess the scope and nature of the relationship, and to gauge the influence that this period may have had in shaping current views of the religion and culture of Muslim regions. By viewing the relationship between two cultures as it was mirrored in the experience of travel, we can gain insights into the process by which we come to know the "Others" with whom we share the neighborhood, the nation and the globe.

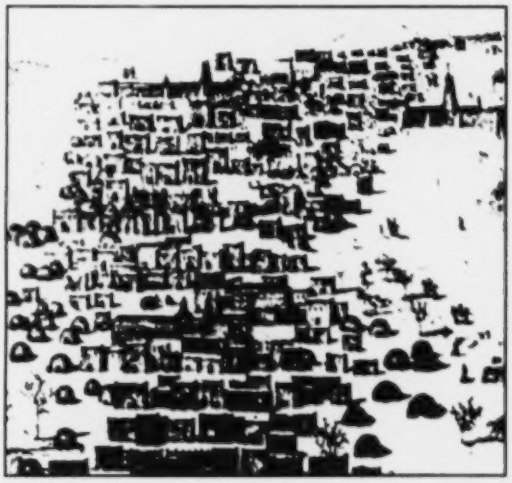
VI. Lesson Plans

Dramatic Moment
Lesson 1: Pilgrims and Tourists
Lesson 2: Archaeologists
Lesson 3: Artists, Architects, and Photographers
Lesson 4: Colonial Officials
Lesson 5: Political Figures
Lesson 6: Literary Figures

A Dramatic Moment

European Explorers Penetrate Timbuktu's Mystery

"At length, we arrived safely at Timbuctoo, just as the sun was touching the horizon. I now saw this capital of the Sudan,[2] to reach which had so long been the object of my wishes. On entering this mysterious city, which is an object of curiosity and research to the civilized nations of Europe, I experienced an indescribable satisfaction. I never before felt a similar emotion and my transport was extreme. I was obliged, however, to restrain my feelings, and to God alone did I confide my joy...I pour forth for the protection which God has vouchsafed to me, amidst obstacles and dangers which appeared insurmountable. This duty being ended, I looked around and found that the sight before me, did not answer my expectations. I had formed[1] a totally different idea of the grandeur and wealth of Timbuctoo. The city presented, at first view, nothing but a mass of ill-looking houses, built of earth. Nothing was to be seen in all directions but immense plains of quicksand of a yellowish white colour. The sky was a pale red as far as the horizon: all nature wore a dreary aspect, and the most profound silence prevailed; not even the warbling of a bird was to be heard. Still, though I cannot account for the impression, there was something imposing in the aspect of a great city, raised in the midst of sands, and the difficulties surmounted by its founders cannot fail to excite admiration. I am inclined to think, that formerly the river flowed close to Timbuctoo; though at present it is eight miles to the north of that city, and five miles to Cabra, in the same direction.



This is how Caillié drew Timbuktu as he saw it in the nineteenth century, long past its 15th-century peak in size and importance.

I took up my abode with Sidi-Abdallahi, who received me in the most friendly manner. He had already been indirectly acquainted with the alleged circumstances, which, as I pretended, had occasioned my journey across the Soudan. He invited me to sup with him; and an excellent couscous of millet and mutton was served up. Six of us partook of the dish, and we ate with our fingers; but in as cleanly a way as was possible under such circumstances. Sidi-Abdallahi, according to the custom of his countrymen, did not say a word to me. He was a mild, quiet, reserved man. His age might be about forty or forty-five. He was five feet high, stout and pitted with the small-pox. His countenance was pleasing, his manners grave, and rather dignified. He had no fault but religious fanaticism."[3]

The passage is from a travel account published in 1830 by French adventurer and explorer René Caillié, the first European to personally report on reaching Timbuktu, Mali. Caillié traveled across Africa in disguise, secretly taking notes while pretending to be a Muslim who had been taken as a slave to France and escaped to visit his homeland in Africa.

For centuries, Europeans had fantasized about Timbuktu, the legendary "golden city" of Africa on the Sahara's edge. In its heyday around the 12th to 15th centuries, much of the gold in Europe's coins was shipped from Timbuktu. The legend grew with news of Mansa Musa's 1324 CE pilgrimage journey. In 1526, a Muslim of Granada named Hassan al-Wezazz al-Fasi (known in the West as Leo Africanus) wrote an account of Africa for the Pope, in which he described Timbuktu's gold trade and inhabitants. By the late 18th century, European countries began to compete with each other to see whose explorer would reach the city first. Several explorers lost their lives or their way in the attempt. In 1824, with the obsession brought to a fever pitch by more failed attempts, the Geographical Society of Paris announced a prize of 7,000 francs, a gold medal, and other honors for the first person to return from Timbuktu with "*precise information, a manuscript narrative, with a geographical map, founded upon celestial observations.*"

Among those in search of the prize was Frenchman René Caillié, orphaned son of a baker, who went to West Africa as a penniless adventurer, worked, and learned the local languages. Caillié said he wanted the prize money to help his sister out of poverty, even if he should die in the attempt. One British competitor was Gordon Laing, son of a schoolmaster, who left a job as teacher to join a West Indian army regiment at Sierra Leone, and finally staged his journey from Tripoli. Even as Laing and Caillié made their plans, several more Europeans died or gave up in the attempt to reach Timbuktu.

In 1826, Gordon Laing disappeared into the Sahara, and travelers brought news that he had been horribly wounded in an attack; he was presumed dead. Then, in September of 1828, the French Consul sent an urgent official dispatch after hastily putting an unusual traveler on a ship bound for France:

"A Frenchman, who it seems has been at Timbuctoo, arrived here clothed in the dress of a Moorish beggar, and has sailed for France....Great secrecy has been observed by the French Consulacy here."[4]

An engraving of explorers Speke and Grant being celebrated for discovering the source of the Nile at a London lecture/reception of the Royal Geographic Society. Saturday, July 4, 1863.

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Caillié's adventure was not over. Caillié's claim to have reached Timbuktu was disputed at first, both because the unknown explorer appeared so suddenly out of nowhere, and because his description of Timbuktu did not fit the romantic image of a "golden city." He finally managed, however, to convince the French of his achievement and receive his reward. This extract from the Minutes of the General Meeting of the Geographic Society, Paris, December 5, 1828, shows the reaction to Caillié's appearance:

> *"M. Jomard, of the Committee charged to draw up an account of the results of M. Caillié's travels, read the report, which was listened to with the most lively and intense attention...after having announced that M. Caillié's journal contains an itinerary continued without interruption from Rio Nunez to Tangier; the reporter delivered a sketch of the results of the Travels sufficient to excite, but not to satisfy the curiosity of the audience. He enumerated the principal places which our countryman visited during a journey of seventeen months, and about three thousand miles. We shall only cite his embarkation at Jenne on the Dhioliba (vulgarly called the Niger), his navigation from thence to Timbuctoo, during an entire month in the season of shallow water; his residence in this town, and his subsequent journey across the great desert, during two months and a half, to the kingdom of Morocco and Tangier. There, Monsieur Delaporte, Consul of France and a member of the Geographical Society, received our countryman, lavished upon him all the attentions which his ill-health and exhaustion demanded, after his escape from the dangers of the climate and the perils of so long and arduous a journey. The report was warmly applauded; and in conformity to the conclusions of the Committee, M. Caillié was introduced, and received from the hands of the President the recompense [reward] offered to his generous self-devotion, that is to say, the produce of a subscription opened by the Society on behalf of the person who should first succeed in penetrating to Timbuctoo by the way of Senegambia, and in furnishing a description of that town."*[5]

By this time, a letter written by Gordon Laing, dated September 21, 1826, had been given to his father-in-law, British Consul of Tripoli by some African travelers. It contained this description of his arrival in Timbuktu:

> *"A very short epistle must serve to apprise you, as well as my dearest Emma, of my arrival at and departure from the great capital of Central Africa...I have no time to give you my account of Timbuctoo, but shall briefly state that in every respect except in size (which does not exceed four miles in circumference) it has completely met my expectations. Kabara is only five miles distant, and is a neat town, situated on the very margin of the river. I have been busily employed during my stay searching the records in the town, which are abundant, and in acquiring information of every kind.*
>
> *May God bless you all. My dear Emma must excuse my [not] writing. I have begun a hundred letters to her, but have been unable to get through one; she is ever uppermost in my thoughts, and I look forward with delight to the hour of our meeting, which, please God, is now at no great distance."*[6]

Gordon Laing

Eventually, news reached the world that he had been killed on a route that guides in Timbuktu had advised him to avoid. Laing's detailed journals were preserved in Timbuktu, and reached the West and were published after some years. Caillié acknowledged Laing's sacrifice in his award speech at the Geographic Society.

Even after Timbuktu had been seen first-hand, the old medieval image lived on. An early twentieth century illustration of Timbuktu shows how the romance persisted in popular imagination. Just before Caillié published his travel account, however, Alfred (later: Lord) Tennyson won a college competition with a poem called *Timbuctoo*, in which he questioned "Africa" from afar, predicting how Timbuktu's mystery would be solved:

Wide Afric, doth thy sun
Lighten, thy hills unfold a city as fair
As those which starred the night o' the elder world?
Or is the rumour of thy Timbuctoo
A dream as frail as those of ancient time?
...the time is well-nigh come
When I must render up this glorious home
To keen Discovery: soon your brilliant towers
Shall darken with the waving of her wand;
Darken, and shrink and shiver into huts,
Black specks amid a waste of dreary sand,
Low-built, mud-wall'd barbarian settlements.

This early 20th-century watercolor shows the persistently romantic image of Timbuktu.

Questions for Discussion

1. What were the social class backgrounds of Caillié and Laing, and how do you think the society of 19th-century Europe may have affected their decisions to risk their lives as explorers? What rewards would have resulted from their achievements, other than money?
2. Why might some European travelers, like Caillié, have decided to travel in disguise, while others, like Laing did not? How might this decision have affected the way they and others viewed their presence in the country?
3. Compare Caillié's view of Timbuktu with Laing's brief description. What emotional attachments and interests did both men invest in the city? How is this reflected in the accounts of their first impression of the place? Contrast the two men's personalities using the excerpts from their letters, or by further researching their travel accounts.
4. Using your knowledge of early 19th-century communication, do you think Tennyson might have heard the substance of Caillié's report before writing his poem? Why do you suppose fantasies about the grandeur of Timbuktu persisted long after the reality of the 19th-century place had been described?

Lesson 1: Pilgrims and Tourists

Lesson Objectives

- Students will describe the conditions under which tourists and pilgrims traveled, in terms of the amenities and political infrastructure of Europe's growing presence in these regions.
- Students will analyze the motivation of the casual as opposed to professional traveler, and the expectations, personality and social background of the individual travelers whose descriptions are excerpted.
- Students will explore the fascination of Western travelers with the Holy Land and Egypt's antiquities, and analyze the spiritual attachment which these travelers describe.
- Students will analyze the travelers' attitudes about aspects of the contemporary society they witnessed in Egypt and Palestine and contrast this view with their perception of the historical East, and how the transmission of these attitudes through popular travel accounts may have influenced attitudes in the West.

Lesson Activities

1. Have students read excerpts 1-A and 1-B, 1-C "Travel Conditions for Western Tourists" and the accompanying images. Using the accounts of Cleopatra's needle, Mark Twain at the pyramids, and E. Joy Morris' boat trip, list the factors that facilitated travel for Europeans, such as the *firman*, servants, etc. As you read the lessons that follow, add to your list institutions or political and financial factors that these travelers include in their accounts, for example, the *kavass* in Cochran's account. To conclude the activity, discuss or write on the following questions:
    - How might tourism have affected the life of people living near these sites and the society of countries that were popular travel destinations?
    - How do the attitudes of the travelers and the scenes described compare with tourism today?
2. Have students read excerpt 1-D, "At the Court of Muhammad Ali" and the accompanying image. Have them make a two-columned form on lined paper. In Column A, have them list the good qualities Mor. is attributes to the Egyptian ruler, and in Column B, for each of these qualities write a brief description of the European values on society and leadership they reflect. When this list is completed, make another form, listing in Column A the negative attributes of Muhammad Ali and/or Egyptian society that are stated or implied in the excerpt AND the image included in Milliard's book to represent Muhammad Ali. As before, in Column B, describe the social or political values that you think correspond to these attributes. Use this list to discuss the outlines of an ideal society implied in these descriptions of a foreign society. See discussion questions under #3 for help.

3. Have students read excerpts 1-C and 1-D, "Meditating on the Ruins at Karnac." In diads, have students discuss and compare the travelers' reflections on their surroundings. Have them list or briefly describe those aspects of the two places, the travelers' moods and the occasion that evoke a spiritual experience. Share these results with the whole group, and analyze in discussion each writer's impressions, identifying what cultural factors elicit these feelings and how they may have affected readers of these popular accounts.

4. **Optional Enrichment or Motivational Activity**: (a) Describe a trip you have taken as a tourist, and write a similar account, including why you are traveling, what difficulties you experienced, what you remember and what struck you as surprising. (b) Research modern adventure tourism on the Internet, and describe a tour or destination that still has something in common with the 19th century traveler's experience reflected in excerpts 1-A through 1-D.

Questions to Guide Discussion

1. What is Lady Herbert's historical point of reference for viewing the people and landscape of the Holy Land as it was during the mid-19th century? How does she judge the role of Turkish rule in altering Palestine from its Biblical appearance? In what way do these writers "telescope time," or collapse and blur their perceptions of historical time with the contemporary scenes they are viewing? Do you suppose that the land and culture could have remained unchanged for over 3000 years, justifying the pilgrim's telescoping of time as they view the landscape for the first time?

2. What was the purpose and source of the *firman*, and how did it benefit the Western traveler? What political arrangements defined the relationship between the foreign traveler and his servants, or indigenous people they casually met? How do you think these arrangements may have affected travelers' experiences and perceptions of the society they were coming to know?

3. Compare the image of Muhammad Ali in the engraving from Daniel Millard's travel book with E. Joy Morris' description of Muhammad Ali after the Pasha received him at audience in his palace. Do the two views clash or harmonize? What preconceptions about Muhammad Ali the man, or about Oriental rulers or society does each traveler display? What is the standard by which Morris judges the Egyptian leader?

4. Which of the travel accounts above reflects the greatest degree of immersion in the ways of the country? In which accounts does the traveler seem to remain most aloof?

5. What aspects of the place, the mood and the occasion evoke a spiritual experience in the traveler, as reflected in Herbert's and Morris' descriptions? Compare this sense of spiritual attachment with Austen Layard's reflections on the archaeological find at Nimrud in Lesson 2, and Tancred's musings in Disraeli's novel, in Lesson 5.

Background for Students

Tourists and Pilgrims in Eastern Mediterranean Lands

These excerpts represent just three of hundreds of travel memoirs written during the 19th century. Many such memoirs even share identical titles, and many more record travelers' experiences of the same itinerary, or route. Tourists and pilgrims often began their journeys in Egypt at the port of Alexandria, where steamships regularly docked after about 1830. They went on to the pyramids and the Sphinx at Giza near Cairo, and sometimes up the Nile to view the ancient ruins at Luxor. Many pilgrims then negotiated through their *dragoman* (translator and guide) to arrange an adventure through the desert—with Bedouin escort. They rode by camel across the Sinai Peninsula to view the Gulf of Aqaba and Mt. Sinai, following what they believed to be the route of the Exodus. There were less adventurous variations on this itinerary, which usually continued on to Jerusalem. In Palestine, they took side trips of several days or less on horseback, donkey or camel, viewing the religious sites of the Holy Land, and to the Nabatean city of Petra, in today's Jordan. Some went on to Damascus, Lebanon and the coastal cities made famous to Europeans by stories of the Crusades. Some travelers with a scholarly bent, like Milliard, tried to compare sites traditionally identified with Biblical events against historical information. The reader can sense how the traveler's feeling of attachment to the Holy Land was stimulated by their life-long familiarity with the Bible. These feelings continued with early twentieth-century tourists and pilgrims. A. J. Sherman, writing about the officials who served during the British Mandate in Palestine, noted this sense of Europeans' intimacy:

> *"In Palestine, British assumptions and attitudes were not only replicated but intensified by a romanticized biblical familiarity. One British official recalled: 'At school, I probably knew far more about the geography of Palestine than of my own country.' Expecting Palestine to look 'Biblical,' they were often thrilled to see their imaginations confirmed: actual shepherds tending their flocks of sheep, camel caravans, olive groves, the rock-strewn slopes of the Judean hills, all somehow familiar, often evoking specific passages from Scripture....Palestine was always a vividly real country of the spirit and imagination, as well as a concrete geographical place."*

During the 19th century, as archaeological discoveries were made in the Near East—Egypt, Mesopotamia and the Holy Land—this feeling of attachment began to extend to historical sites as well. The roots of Western civilization were literally being dug up from the earth and were popularized in illustrated books, lectures, newspapers, paintings and photographs. The most famous sites—especially in Egypt—earned these ruins a firm place in the typical tourist itinerary.

The average traveler at this time—including a surprising number from America—was surely a member of the more privileged classes, though travel was no longer the pleasure only of the very rich. Steamship prices were kept low in order to make money, while incomes rose among Europe's middle classes. Western travelers of the ordinary sort would have been easy to identify on the streets of Cairo or Damascus. They wore Western clothing and carried sketchbooks (later cameras). With a translator-facilitator (*dragoman*) and a couple of servants in tow, the Western traveler took side trips equipped with some of the pleasures of home—a China tea set, a canvas bath, a traveling bed, and European-style tents. A small industry developed around meeting the needs of such tourists.

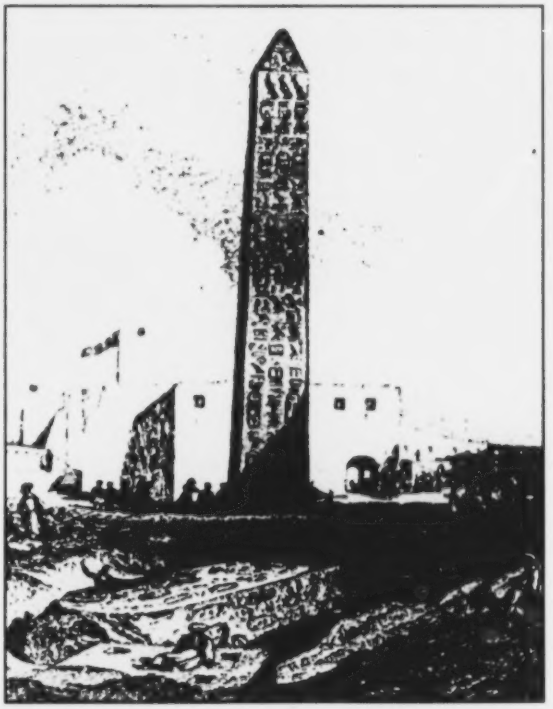
Some wanted to blend into the crowd, at least for adventure's sake. Some wore native costume—commonly referred to as going *á la Turque*—in the Turkish style, complete with turban, flowing robes and sashes, shoes and a *nargile* (water pipe). Many had themselves sketched or photographed in this garb as a travel memento. At famous sites, local people or resident European artists and photographers offered to make a memorable image, or sold stock photos, engravings and drawings of these sites, giving birth to tourist postcards. As travel became easier and European political power increased in these regions, the flow of casual travelers increased. These historic sites began to look somewhat like tourist destinations today.

Student Resource 1-A

From Stephen Olin's travel memoir,
***Travels in Egypt, Arabia Petræa and the Holy Land* (first published in 1842)** [8]

Cleopatra's Needle

"This beautiful monument is much defaced by the names of travelers inscribed upon it, mostly in a very clumsy manner, with paints of all hues. Its great elevation, one would think, should have secured the upper portions of it from these memorials of low ambition but a cord, it seems, was sent over the top attached to a flying kite, by which a ladder of ropes was raised, that gave access to these aspiring visitors. It was a fashion with many travellers to write letters to their friends from this lofty pinnacle, and epistles are seen in several books dated on the top of Pompey's Pillar. Others held convivial parties there, consisting of ladies as well as gentlemen. Some inconveniences which grew out of this practice led the government to prohibit all persons from ascending to the top of the monument. Every one who sees this stupendous mass of stone in its present position, inquires how it was brought from the distant quarry and planted upon its pedestal. Such questions often occur in viewing the monuments of this peculiar country. They have never been satisfactorily answered. This should be called Diocletan's Pillar, having been reared in honor of that emperor.



Cleopatra's needle is an obelisk of the same species of red granite with Pompey's Pillar, and doubtless from the same quarry at Syene. This monument is ascribed to Themes III, who reigned B.C. 1495. It was first reared in Heliopolis. It is eight feet square at its base, or, rather, at the surface of the earth which has accumulated around the base, to what height is not known. Another obelisk of the same dimensions lies upon the ground at a small distance from the first; the length of this is 62 feet. Both are monoliths, and stood at the entrance of a magnificent temple. Several attempts have been made to transport the prostrate mass to Europe. It has been disinterred for this purpose, having been covered with rubbish to a considerable depth. This monument belongs to England. The one which is yet standing has been presented by the pasha, as we are told, to the King of France. These obelisks are much more massive than those which were transported to Rome by the emperors, or that which has been recently reared in the Place de la Concorde at Paris; a circumstance that may prevent their deportation, and preserve to Egypt two of the most precious relics of its ancient civilization. Cleopatra's Needle is within the walls of the city. Pompey's Pillar is a short distance beyond them, in a southwest direction."

Student Resource 1-B

From Mark Twain, *The Innocents Abroad* (1869)

"...Each step [of the pyramid] being full as high as a dinner table; there being very, very many of the steps; an Arab having hold of each of our arms and springing upward from step to step and snatching us with them, forcing us to lift our feet as high as our breasts every time, and do it rapidly and keep it up until we were ready to faint—who shall say it is not lively, exhilarating, lacerating, muscle-straining, bone-wrenching and perfectly excruciating and exhausting pastime climbing the pyramids? I beseeched the varlets not to twist all my joints asunder...and they only answered with some more frightful springs, and an unenlisted volunteer behind opened a bombardment of determined boosts with his head which threatened to batter my whole political economy to wreck and ruin. Twice, for one minute, they let me rest while they extorted baksheesh, and then continued their maniac flight up the pyramid. They wished to beat the other parties."

Student Resource 1-C

From Lady Herbert's memoir of a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, *Cradle Lands* (first published in 1869)[9]

Reflections on the Journey in Palestine

"And now the cavalcade is toiling on, amid magnificent scenery, up the steep ascent, the burning sun making the way appear longer, and a parching thirst compelling the travelers to an unwary emptying of their leather water-bottles before half the day is over. They have a wild and picturesque escort of fifty men, some mounted and some on foot, all in the Bedouin dress—the wide striped brown and white burnoose and black kaffir—with long hair and naked feet and legs. They are armed with long old-fashioned guns bound with brass and inlaid with mother-of-pearl, and with sundry other weapons in their girdles. Not a tree or a bush appears to give a particle of shade to the sunburnt pilgrims, and the younger of the party are beginning to feel faint and dispirited, when a turn of the road brings them to a great projecting rock, and they see that, by scrambling down a ravine in the hollow below, they shall find a resting-place during the burning heat of noon-day. In a few moments they had dismounted, and stretched themselves on their carpets in the grateful shade. 'The shadow of a great rock in a weary land.' Who has not felt, in the East, the wonderful beauty and reality of the similes used in Holy Scripture? Were anyone seeking for a guide-book of Syria, of its scenery, its manners, its customs, they could find no more accurate one than that which God has placed in the hands of all men by the mouth of His prophets [the Bible]. There still are the women watering the cattle by the wayside well, and kneading cakes on the hearth, and preparing the fatted kid for the traveler by the open tent-door. There, again, is the grass growing on the house-tops, 'which withereth before it be plucked up.' Nothing is changed in this wonderful land, except where the blighting foot of the Turk has come, and left the usual desolation behind."

In Damascus

"From the mosque our party went to see the houses of the French and English consuls, as also of several Jews and Moslems. It is impossible to conceive of anything more beautiful or more luxurious. They are all of the same type. Emerging from dirty long lanes, and passing through low insignificant doorways, you come suddenly into a court paved with marble, with a fountain in the center, shaded by oranges, lemons, pomegranates, and other exotics, beautiful roses (of the kind called in England the 'monthly cluster,' a highly-scented one, from which the attar is made), jasmine, and other flowers. From this court opens out a succession of rooms such as are described in the *Arabian Nights*, the walls covered with mosaic, the ceilings of wood exquisitely carved in the most delicate Saracenic patterns [Islamic designs] and equally exquisitely colored with that peculiar blending of shades which none but Orientals understand.

In the center is again a fountain, and at each end of the room a raised divan covered with beautiful Persian carpets, the windows latticed and pierced in the most delicate patterns; beautiful china in niches and other oriental treasures, enameled narghilehs [water pipes], engraved bowls of silver and platinum, into which divers patterns and passages of the Koran are elaborately worked, filigree coffee-cups all glistening with jewels. Such are the houses of the English and French consuls, and such, in a greater or less degree, is the Oriental idea of perfect luxury."

Student Resource 1-D

From E. Joy Morris' travel memoir, *Notes of a Tour through Arabia Petraea to the Holy Land* (first published in 1842) [10]

At the Court of Muhammad Ali in Egypt

"The Pasha [Muhammad Ali] inquired our object in coming to Egypt, to which we answered, as in courtesy bound—primarily to see the progress Egypt had made in civilization under the government of his highness; and secondarily to examine its antiquities. He replied, that we might travel with the utmost safety in all parts of his dominions. He granted our request for a *Firman* with much kindness, at the same time declaring that it was superfluous, as every Frank [European] traveler in his dominions was under his special protection. I mentioned that the enterprise of his highness was making Egypt a formidable rival of the United States in the production of cotton. This caused him to revert to the visit of the Delaware, under Commodore Patterson, to Alexandria, in 1834, which seemed to have left a very favorable impression on his mind, as to the character of the United States. ...We were very favorably impressed to the Pasha from this interview. He possesses a quick, intuitive perception, that is in some degree by the rapid and searching glances of his eye. He is evidently a good judge of character, and accustomed to weigh well the worth of men, before he admits them to intimacy or confidence. There is less of dignity in his manner, than in his views and sentiments, which are those of one who would have been a real benefactor to his subjects, had he been educated in a better school of moral sentiment. His ideas of reform are too vast to be compassed in a single generation. The character, pursuits, and prejudices of a people cannot be changed by an edict from the Divan [the palace]. Time and mental enlightenment alone can raise a people up from a state of approaching barbarism to civilization. Mohammed Ali, however, has done good which will not pass away with him. The foundation of schools and colleges, the canal from Alexandria to the Nile, the numerous canals for irrigation opened throughout Egypt, the production of cotton and tobacco, and other staples which promise to materially augment the resources and wealth of the country—all of these things will remain as permanent benefits to Egypt, and as memorials of the wisdom of its present ruler. Mohammed Ali is what the world calls an extraordinary man, if the possession of rare endowments of mind, and a rise from the lowest condition of life to one, in which he has become master of the lives and properties of millions of his fellow men, entitle him to that appellation."

This engraving, entitled "Mehmet Ali," was included in a travel account published in 1843 with the same title as Morris' by another American, Daniel Milliard, who lists himself as "Professor of Antiquities and Sacred Geography in the Theological School, Meadville, PA. In contrast to Morris, Milliard did not meet the Pasha, since he was not at his Cairo residence when Milliard was there.

Travel Conditions for Western Tourists

"Dec. 27. This day we embarked on the Nile for Upper Egypt. We have a very commodious boat. It is a Kandjia, or decked boat, double masted, and bearing two immense triangular sails, which, when filled with a strong breeze, urge the frame of the boat along with great force. Our apartments consist of a deck cabin divided into three chambers, each about six feet in length. These are very comfortable sleeping apartments; an awning stretches in front of the cabin to the mainmast, beneath which we have placed two divans, upon which we recline during the day, costumed a la Turque, smoking the Chibouk [water pipe], sipping coffee, and looking at the scenery. Our crew consists of eleven Arabs, and an Armenian reis, or captain. We have two servants, who cook our meals, act as interpreters, and serve as guides. We are absolute masters in our little domain, being armed with a firman [official letter] from the Pasha, by the authority of which we may have any of our refractory subjects bastinadoed [beaten] into obedience. The captain has entered into an agreement to place the boat at our entire disposal, to go whither we choose, and to retain it as long as we pleased, all for the sum of eighteen hundred piastres, about ninety dollars a month. My fellow companion is a Venetian. Being a great sportsman, he has induced me to provide myself also with a gun. I picked one up in the Bazaar, at Cairo... We have quite a formidable [ammunition] magazine beneath our cabin, over which my companion, with true Mohammedan insensibility, shakes the ashes out of his pipe bowl, when going to bed, to my great horror."

Meditating on the Ruins at Karnac

"We had hardly made half the circuit of the ruins before we were overtaken by night. It stole so gently upon us that we did not perceive its coming on, except in the softer hues of the sky and the mellowing tints with which it invested the majestic ruins around us. As we had designed returning to Karnac on the morrow, we did not think it worth the trouble of going back to the boat that evening. Fortunately for my companion, a full moon rising early after sunset gave him an opportunity of sketching Karnac by moonlight. We made a frugal meal of eggs, milk and bread on the back of a sphinx beneath a propylon whose gods and goddesses seemed to frown on us in the dim twilight. We stabled our donkeys in the sanctuary under the protecting guardianship of Isis and Osiris, and then disposed of ourselves for the night. My companion, with a servant and a donkey boy, stationed himself on a commanding point of view to sketch the ruins, while I, with my servant Abdullah, strolled among the halls and corridors of the palace. I entered the great hall; the glare of the day was gone, not a zephyr was stirring, and as we walked down the central avenue, our footsteps woke the slumbering echoes. I felt a religious awe in disturbing the solitude of this ancient shrine. I threw myself at the base of one of the gigantic columns, unwilling to break the eternal silence that seemed to repose here. Wherever I gazed, colossal figures of gods and kings looked down upon me from the walls and columns. The moonlight threw its slant beams through the crevices and holes in the wall, enveloping all in a dim, religious light. The roof was gone, and the columns that rose from the interred pavement beneath seemed to support the blue canopy above fretted with a countless host of stars. The lofty capitals were indistinctly seen buried in the blue void, and seemed to commingle with and be lost in the depths above. Two thousand years ago, and this forest of columns was standing; these walls were then as firm as now, and that stupendous propylon which casts its shadow down these pillared aisles excited the astonishment of those distant ages, as it has of all subsequent time. What changes has the world seen since the foundations of this edifice were laid! What countless generations of men have rose and fell and passed away! What transitions from barbarism to civilization, and from civilization to barbarism, in that wide interval of time! That distant world [North America] from which I, a pilgrim, have come to these deserted shrines of ancient greatness, then lay undiscovered brooding upon the bosom of an unknown sea. What mighty armies have passed through this hall! Here Cambyses stayed his chariot wheels to gaze in wonder at the triumphs of architecture; here Sesostris was welcomed back with the loud acclaims of millions from his conquest of the world. The sublimity of this hall stayed the destroying hand of the Ptolemies. The Caesars were awed into humility when they trod these aisles, and even the Arab hosts as they swept by on the tide of victory paused to admire, and the armies of France, as they rushed by in pursuit of the flying Mamelukes, were so struck with amazement at the ruins, that they fell upon their knees in homage, and rent the air with shouts of applause. Losing myself in these reveries, I fell asleep, with a drowsy owl over my head hooting at his image, among the hieroglyphics of the columns."

Lesson 2: Archaeologists

Lesson Objectives

- Students will identify the motivation of some 19th-century European archaeologists and assess their effect in stimulating the Western public to read, visit archaeological sites, lectures, and exhibitions, and build museums to house historic objects.
- Students will analyze the response of archaeologists and their reading public to the new discoveries and assess how these discoveries influenced Europe's view of their own culture and history, and its relationship with that of the regions where these discoveries were made.
- Students will explain the relationship between archaeological expeditions and European political and economic penetration of the regions where these discoveries were made and the roles played by regional and local officials and other indigenous folk.

Lesson Activities

1. Motivational activity: Have students skim through their history textbook for examples of archaeological information and pictures of artifacts unearthed in digs, especially in the early chapters. Have students recall museum visits and documentary programs they may have recently viewed in which they learned more about a culture through archaeology. Perhaps some of the students have participated in a dig in their local area or elsewhere, and they can comment on the experience.
2. Have students read excerpts 2-A and 2-B and imagine how accounts like Layard's and Hogarth's stimulated young people to enter the field of archaeology during the 19th century. For example, the young Gertrude Bell mentioned in her letters that she was excited by Hogarth's book. What elements in the description made the profession seem attractive? Choose a member of the class to play the role of a late 19th-century archaeologist speaking to a collegiate audience about the importance and social contributions of archaeology as a profession.
3. Study the final paragraph of excerpt 2-A. In an essay, paragraph, or journal entry, compare Layard's reflections on his discovery of the temple figures of Nimrod with the those of Lady Herbert's feelings about the Holy Land and E. Joy Morris's night at Karnac. What is the bond that each feels with the region, and how is the legacy of the region related to Western culture in their view? Contrast these writers' feelings about the East of their day and the East of the distant past. Include your opinion on whether or not their views about either were accurate or distorted.

4. Using excerpts 2-A and 2-B, identify and list ways in which indigenous, common folk contributed to Layard's and Hogarth's archaeological discoveries and achievements. Identify and list the roles played by government officials and describe how such people might help or hinder the archaeologist. Why did the archaeologists think indigenous people wanted to work or cooperate with them? Knowing that most European travelers obtained a *Firman* from the Ottoman government and lived under the terms of the Capitulation treaties, discuss how this status might have aided the process of discovery and how likely you think these discoveries would have been without such terms and conditions for travel?

5. Have students read excerpt 2-C. Stage a mock debate on the issues raised in Flinders Petrie's lecture, given just at the end of World War I, in which a panel of archaeologists from England, America, France, and Germany, as well as representatives from Egyptian and Turkish museums, discussed how antiquities should be preserved and studied. To aid in preparation, consider the questions to guide discussion, below.

Questions to Guide Discussion

1. What are the cultural values behind archaeological discovery and preservation?

2. What European political goals had been met by the end of World War I, according to Petrie, and why did this situation create an enormous potential gain for the field of archaeology?

3. What risks and benefits did Petrie see? What role did imperialism play in giving archaeologists and treasure hunters access to lands and plunder of artifacts? Whose access to historical sites may be denied under such a system?

4. What moral, cultural, and scientific issues are raised by archaeological research and preservation?

5. Who owns the objects and sites that make up a historical legacy that is shared among several nations and cultures, and who decides on ownership? Which is more important: (a) preserving a site for and in the land and place where it was found, or (b) providing greater public access through museums which may be far away in European or American major cities?

Background for Students

The development of archaeology during the nineteenth century is closely related to travel, both casual and professional. Travel notes and diaries stimulated interest in historic sites among travelers and the homebound audience. Travel journals also formed the germ of systematic, scientific expositions, though popular, adventure accounts like Layard's and Hogarth's continued to be published by pioneering archaeologists. This legacy continues in television documentaries today. During the 19th century, the discipline of archaeology developed out of antiquarian studies and treasure hunting. It vastly changed the fields of history and Biblical studies.

Archaeological investigation of ancient, classical and biblical sites is closely related to the expansion of travel. It is equally related to the advance of European influence, and grew with the political and economic domination of the regions where historic sites are located. As these regions became open to study by individuals, research institutions and governments, unearthing and examination of antiquities became more and more sophisticated. Instead of just pulling things out of the ground and carrying them off to study, archaeologists developed methods of recording, analyzing and dating finds in a site. These studies developed during the 19th century into the discipline of archaeology. Though treasure hunting never ceased, of course, it was spurned by serious archeologists because it often destroyed historical evidence and cast a bad light on excavation of antiquities.

The Renaissance of the 14th to 16th centuries in Europe stimulated intense interest in the study of Greek and Roman literature. Study of the classics became a standard part of a good education. Historians also began to develop a more humanistic and realistic approach to history than medieval scholars had done. Scholars became more aware of more carefully defined historical periods, for example, than the simple division of time into "ancient" (classical and Biblical history) and modern (their own) times.

During the 16th century, antiquarians (people who study historical documents) began to move beyond criticizing old texts into basic research. Many devoted their lives to systematic collection of primary source material such as coins, inscriptions, and documents. These antiquarians worked carefully to preserve the sources of historical knowledge, especially concerning Europe's national and religious history. In the process, they developed specialized fields of critical research and study of primary source material.

During the 18th century, the attention to detail and method that was employed by the antiquarians combined with a broad philosophical, but sometimes careless Enlightenment approach to history. Edward Gibbon, however, was a famous historian who combined a deep respect for antiquarian research with the Enlightenment spirit. Gibbon produced *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (1776-88), setting a new standard for historical writing. Another influential historian was the 19th-century German Leopold von Ranke, who contributed to making historical study an independent academic discipline with its own critical method and rigorous academic preparation. Ranke insisted that historians should be objective and make careful use of primary sources a law of historical construction. He believed that historians should be neutral (at least ideally), but also realize that observers are always influenced by their own time and culture. These critical ideas helped make the historian's job less of a literary art and more like modern scientific research. Throughout the 19th century, French, British, American and German scholars applied new scientific methods to professional history. These methods included thorough examination of sources, careful use of archival collections and new sources of evidence, including archaeology.

Biblical archaeology is the scientific study of historical remains and records related to the Jewish and Christian religions, and specifically to the Bible. From about the 4th to the 19th century, accounts of Christian pilgrimages made up most of Europeans' information about biblical sites. In the mid-1800s, modern exploration of Palestine began. In 1841, American scholar Edward Robinson became known as the father of Palestinian archaeology when he published *Biblical Researches in Palestine*. During the following decades, the Holy Land's biblical sites were thoroughly explored and mapped. While travelers began this process, their studies led to the growth of institutions like the Palestine Exploration Fund (1865), the Deutscher Palästina-Verein (1877), the École Biblioteque (1890), the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem (1900), and the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem (1919). Toward the end of the 19th century, systematic excavation of specific biblical sites in Palestine began when British archaeologist and Egyptologist Sir Flinders Petrie developed the methods which were used by most later archaeologists. For example, Petrie developed the art of untangling layers of artifacts in a mound and use of changes in pottery styles for clues to chronology. Even before World War I, when Britain and France gained political control of Syria and Palestine, excavation work had already begun at major biblical sites as Jerusalem and the ancient city of Jericho.

During the 19th century, investigations began in other areas of the Middle East, Greece and Italy. These explorations were related to Biblical as well as classical Greek, Roman and Persian history. In 1799, French troops discovered the Rosetta Stone, which helped scholars break the code of Egyptian hieroglyphics. This breakthrough helped lay the foundation of modern Egyptology. Temples, tombs, papyrus documents, and many other artifacts from ancient Egypt led to a flood of scientific literature and popular interest in ancient Egypt. Egyptian art became very fashionable in Europe. A series of expeditions by the British in the mid-19th century uncovered the great library of the 7th-century BC Assyrian king Ashurbanipal at the site of ancient Nineveh, near modern Mosul, Iraq. Cuneiform tablets and artwork from ancient Assyria, Mesopotamia and the Hittites helped clarify the origins of Old Testament prophecy, the identification of place names, and the concept of nomadic tribes. These discoveries unearthed artifacts that were shipped off to Europe, where they aroused great public interest. These finds resulted in the founding of museums in major European cities. They also unleashed a stream of tourists to these ancient sites that continues to the present.

The emerging science of archaeology had an enormous effect on the way Westerners came to view their civilization's identity and roots in the past. Archaeological discoveries had an impact on history education from elementary school to the universities. The history textbook in your classroom was deeply influenced by developments in history and archaeology that took place during the 19th century. These excerpts show how both tourists and scientists express strong feelings of awe and attachment to historic places, which continues today.

Student Resource 2-A

From Austen Layard, *A Popular Account of Discoveries at Nineveh* (1851) [1]

The Huge Mounds of Assyria

During the autumn of 1839 and winter of 1840...I had traversed Asia Minor and Syria, visiting the ancient seats of civilization, and the spots which religion has made holy. I now felt an irresistible desire to penetrate to the regions beyond the Euphrates, to which history and tradition point as the birth-place of the wisdom of the West. Most travelers, after a journey through the usually frequented parts of the East, have the same longing to cross the great river, and to explore those lands which are separated on the map from the confines of Syria by a vast blank stretching from Aleppo to the banks of the Tigris. A deep mystery hangs over Assyria, Babylonia, and Chaldea. With these names are linked great nations and great cities dimly shadowed forth in history; mighty ruins, in the midst of deserts, defying, by their very desolation and lack of definite form, the description of the traveler; the remnants of mighty races still roving over the land; the fulfilling and fulfillment of prophecies; the plains to which the Jew and the Gentile alike look as the cradle of their race. After a journey in Syria, the thoughts naturally turn eastward; and without treading on the remains of Nineveh and Babylon our pilgrimage is incomplete.

...he belonged to one of the tribes which cultivate a little land on the borders of the Desert, and are distinguished, by their more sedentary habits, from the Bedouins. Near him were three women, lean and haggard, their heads almost concealed in black handkerchiefs, and the rest of their persons enveloped in the striped aba. Some children, nearly naked, and one or two mangy greyhounds, completed the group. As we entered, all the party rose, and showed some alarm at this sudden appearance of strangers. The man, however, seeing Europeans, bid us welcome, and spreading some corn-sacks on the ground, invited us to be seated. The women and children retreated into a corner of the hut. Our host, whose name was Awad or Abd Allah, was a sheikh of the Jehesh. His tribe having been plundered by the pasha, and being now scattered in different parts of the country, he had taken refuge in this ruined village. He had learnt a little Turkish, and was intelligent and active. Seeing, at once, that he would be useful, I acquainted him with the object of my journey; offering him the prospect of regular employment in the event of the experiment proving successful, and assigning him fixed wages as superintendent of the workmen. He volunteered to walk, in the middle of the night, to Selamiyah, a village three miles distant, and to some Arab tents in the neighborhood, to procure men to assist in the excavations.

I had slept little during the night. The hovel in which we had taken shelter, and its inmates, did not invite slumber; but such scenes and companions were not new to me: they could have been forgotten, had my brain been less excited. Hopes, long cherished, were now to be realized, or were to end in disappointment. Visions of palaces under-ground, of gigantic monsters, of sculptured figures, and endless inscriptions, floated before me. After forming plan after plan for removing the earth, and extricating these treasures, I fancied myself wandering in a maze of chambers from which I could find no outlet. Then, again, all was reburied, and I was standing on the grass-covered mound. Exhausted, I was at length sinking into sleep, when hearing the voice of Awad, I rose from my carpet, and joined him outside the hovel. The day already dawned; he had returned with six Arabs, who agreed for a small sum to work under my direction.

The lofty cone and broad mound of Nimroud broke like a distant mountain on the morning sky. But how changed was the scene since my former visit! The ruins were no longer clothed with verdure and many-colored flowers; no signs of habitation, not even the black tent of the Arab, were seen upon the plain. The eye wandered over a parched and barren waste, across which occasionally swept the whirlwind, dragging with it a cloud of sand. About a mile from us was the small village of Nimroud, like Naifa, a heap of ruins.

...On the morning following these discoveries, I had ridden to the encampment of Sheikh Abd al-Rahman, and was returning to the mound, when I saw two Arabs of his tribe urging their mares to the top of their speed. On approaching me they stopped. "Hasten, O Bey," exclaimed one of them, "hasten to the diggers, for they have found Nimrod himself. Wa Allah! it is wonderful, but it is true! we have seen him with our eyes. There is no God but God"; and both joining in this Pious exclamation, they galloped off, without further words, in the direction of their tents.

On reaching the ruins I descended into the new trench, and found the workmen, who had already seen me, as I approached, standing near a heap of baskets and cloaks. While Awad advanced and asked for a present to celebrate the occasion, the Arabs withdrew the screen they had hastily constructed, and disclosed an enormous human head sculptured in full out of the alabaster of the country. They had uncovered the upper part of a figure, the remainder of which was still buried in the earth. I saw at once that the head must belong to a winged lion or bull, similar to those of Khorsabad and Persepolis. It was in admirable preservation. The expression was calm, yet majestic, and the outline of the features showed a freedom and knowledge of art, scarcely to be looked for in works of so remote a period. The cap had three horns, and, unlike that of the human-headed bulls hitherto found in Assyria, was rounded and without ornament at the top.

I was not surprised that the Arabs had been amazed and terrified at this apparition. It required no stretch of imagination to conjure up the most strange fancies. This gigantic head, blanched with age, thus rising from the bowels of the earth, might well have belonged to one of those fearful beings which are pictured in the traditions of the country, as appearing to mortals, slowly ascending from the regions below. One of the workmen, on catching the first glimpse of the monster, had thrown down his basket and had run off toward Mosul as fast as his legs could carry him. I learned this with regret, as I anticipated the consequences.

This drawing depicts the moment of Layard's discovery of the gigantic stone head.

...I used to contemplate for hours these mysterious emblems, and muse over their intent and history. What more noble forms could have ushered the people into the temple of their gods? What more sublime images could have been borrowed from nature, by men who sought, unaided by the light of revealed religion, to embody their conception of the wisdom, power, and ubiquity of a Supreme Being? They could find no better type of intellect and knowledge than the head of the man; of strength, than the body of the lion; of ubiquity, than the wings of the bird. Those winged human-headed lions were not idle creations, the offspring of mere fancy; their meaning was written upon them. They had awed and instructed races which flourished 3000 years ago. Through

the portals which they guarded, kings, priests, and warriors had borne sacrifices to their altars, long before the wisdom of the East had penetrated to Greece, and had furnished its mythology with symbols recognized of old by the Assyrian votaries. They may have been buried, and their existence may have been unknown, before the foundation of the eternal city. For twenty-five centuries they had been hidden from the eye of man, and they now stood forth once more in their ancient majesty. But how changed was the scene around them! The luxury and civilization of a mighty nation had given place to the wretchedness and ignorance of a few half-barbarous tribes. The wealth of temples, and the riches of great cities, had been succeeded by ruins and shapeless heaps of earth. Above the spacious hall in which they stood, the plow had passed and the corn now waved. Egypt has monuments no less ancient and no less wonderful; but they have stood forth for ages to testify her early power and renown; while those before me had but now appeared to bear witness, in the words of the prophet, that once "the Assyrian was a cedar in Lebanon with fair branches and with a shadowing shroud of an high stature; and his top was among the thick boughs his height was exalted above all the trees of the field, and his boughs were multiplied, and his branches became long, because of the multitude of waters when he shot forth. Air the fowls of heaven made their nests in his boughs, and under his branches did all the beasts of the fields bring forth their young, and under his shadow dwelt all great nations"; for now is "Nineveh a desolation, and dry like a wilderness, and flocks lie down in the midst of her: all the beasts of the nations, both the cormorant and bittern, lodge in the upper lintels of it; their voice sings in the windows; and desolation is in the threshold."

Student Resource 2-B

From David Hogarth, *The Wandering Scholar* (first published in 1890)[12]

...All evening the go-betweens came and went. Next morning our caravan was ordered to start, and the price came down to forty liras...Doubtless we could have gotten the stone for less, but we were pressed for time, and it was worth more than twenty liras. So the bargain was struck and the stone lifted into our wagon. Needless to say, we could not hope to carry off so well-known a treasure under the very eyes of the local Governor, unless prepared to pay more in bakshish [bribes] than in purchase, and, once we had impressions and copies, the stone itself might as well be placed in the Imperial Museum at Istanbul. Making therefore, and ostentatious virtue of necessity, we conveyed it ten miles to Nigdeh, and lodged it there in trust for His Majesty the Sultan....Strolling that night in the dark over the crowded roof of the khan, I heard that a certain Frenchman had tried to escape with a stone worth 10,000 liras, but had been arrested by the police and forced to disgorge...a Government secretary approached us privately the next day with a kind suggestion that, if our difficulty related to the conveyance of the stone to the coast, he could arrange that we should be robbed of it outside the town, and for a slight consideration recover it at the port. Gratefully and regretfully we declined.

...Where one has to deal with ignorant cunning, all ideals of candour and justice must be thrown to the winds. If you reside for months in a certain district you may offer fair prices only; as weeks pass, the peasants will come to know that you are just an Englishman, whose habit is not to bargain. But if the mere wanderer offers a fair price the odds are that the magnitude of it will cause the owner to conclude that the real value of his *antica* is far greater; and the caution of the peasant and the Oriental combined will bring about the most hopeless disinclination to sell. To combat this mood a European will need all his wits. At Bor in 1890 (after the episode of the stone) I was shown by a Turk a silver seal, supported on three lion's claws, and inscribed with a figure in Hittite dress with Hittite symbols round him. At a glance I recognized in the seal an absolutely unique thing, to be secured at all costs; but hardly was it in my hand before its owner snatched it away and disappeared. I soon learned that he intended not to sell it to me at all; but after some hours he was persuaded to let me have another look at the curiosity; on the express understanding that it was not for sale. A crowd collected, and I remarked that the *antica* was worth two dollars. The instinct of a bargain made the bystanders shout at once, 'Give half a lira!' I hesitated. 'One lira!' 'A lira and a half!' 'Two liras!' they clamored rapturously. I made a fatuous stand at that figure. Delighted to have rushed me to near six times my price they turned on the owner of the seal. 'Give it to him! Give it to him! Two liras! He said two dollars!' He parleyed a moment, and was lost; and the only silver Hittite seal in the world is now in the Ashmolean Museum [in London]."

Student Resource 2-C

From a 1918 lecture to the Royal Institution by W. M. Flinders Petrie [13]

"The political situation in the East as now developed, and the future possibilities before us, constitute, perhaps, the heaviest responsibility for historical study that has ever fallen on any nation. We may have in our hands the development of the sites of the greatest ancient civilizations, the parents of our own knowledge, learning and religion; and it will rest upon us to settle whether we will preserve and understand that past, or whether we will deliberately let it be destroyed. There are no ifs and buts in the question; unless we take long-sighted and effective measures at once—this year—we promote the destruction of the history of past ages of civilization. When once the security of life and produce, without extortion, is assured, the rapid development of unworked lands is certain in the present age. We must not have repeated in Mesopotamia and Palestine the ghastly results of our inefficiency, which we have exhibited in Cyprus and Egypt. Of the irremediable mischief and loss under British management in the past, is shall point the lesson...The history of the intellectual endeavor of mankind, of the heritage which we enter on unconsciously and enjoy without toil, should be one of the chief interests of thinking men...It is our own mental ancestry, and by its course it gives the surest anticipation of our mental posterity...All this we demand to know, especially of those lands and races to whom our debt is the greatest. Babylonia is the mother of our commerce and our science, Palestine is the mother of our religious perceptions. It is these countries for which we require now a just stewardship of their past.

...In the midst of enormous political uncertainties it may seem quite premature to discuss what our future course should be in peace. But we are already pledged to a definite course politically, if we can succeed in controlling it. The British Government is committed to the principle of a Jewish State in Palestine, and therefore the questions that must arise in such a course are by no means barred. It is also committed to the principle of an independent rule in Mesopotamia, and therefore the present Turkish law would also be superseded there. We may be asked why we should be in a hurry to consider administrative questions; let them arise in future, and be dealt with when they arise. We have already followed this course in Cyprus and Egypt, with disastrous results. It is to prevent the recurrence of such disasters in the other centres of ancient civilization, for which we may be responsible, that we must consider the necessary conditions in good time. If we wait until the scandals of destruction are known to all, we shall wait until it is too late to do our duty...The custody of the Holy Places has been the most burning question of piety, of fanaticism and of intrigue, among the Christian Powers, and is in most cases complicated by the Jewish and the Turkish claims. To leave this fermenting mixture to the mere chances of casual possession or action would be folly. To leave the destruction of the great centres of our early civilization would be behaving like the beasts that perish...It is this history which lies in our hands in the East, and which it is our duty to conserve.

...The most obvious of all duty is the conservation of known monuments. There are many causes of destruction; them most evident is the demand for materials. The temple on Elephantine—one of the most perfect in Egypt—was cut to pieces to build a powder magazine. The triumphal arch and colonnades of Antinoe were carried off to build sugar works. The complete Roman camp at Alexandria was pulled to pieces to build a palace, abandoned as a useless toy soon after...Another

cause is the vicious demand for fragments of monuments, mainly by the tourist, but also fostered even by national museums. The sculptured rock halls of tombs at Bani Hasan and Tel Amarna, that have stood for thousands of years, were attacked, and the finest pieces cut out of them, with the collateral destruction much more. The most beautifully sculptured tomb at Thebes had the best parts pried away—now in Berlin. Another, a painted tomb, was wrecked, and its fragments are in Florence. The most beautiful of the early sculptured tombs was ruined, and the broken fragment of the best part is in the British Museum. These pieces have all been obtained with open eyes, knowing quite well how they were stolen, and what damage was done for this filthy lucre.

...The reckless destruction of Babylonian antiquities by incompetent excavation must be brought to an end. We read: 'the excavations have been for the most part destructive rather than scientific; such objects as were wanted by the Museum were alone sought after; little or no record has been kept of their discovery...The so-called excavations conducted by the museum in 1880 were simply a scandal.' We read of ancient magazines in Assyria full of colored tiles, of iron tools and weaponry, of pottery, of which hardly a specimen has reached Europe. Sixty-eight cases of the finest Assyrian sculpture were sunk in the Tigris without any attempt to recover them. A whole boatload of sculptures and antiquities were likewise lost in the Nile. The search for literary remains, tablets, papyri, and inscriptions, has been conducted, both in Egypt and Mesopotamia with utter disregard for all other antiquities or for any knowledge of the civilization or history."

Lesson 3: Artists, Architects, and Photographers

Lesson Objectives

- Students will describe the European fascination with Islamic art and design during the 19th century, identify several artists upon whose work it was founded, and describe how it influenced industrial design, fashion, painting, and architecture.
- Students will analyze some examples of artistic expression with Islamic themes and subjects in order to understand the European image of Muslim culture out of which it developed and which it helped to popularize.
- The student will analyze how these images fit into the context of larger European cultural trends of the period.

Lesson Activities

1. Study the images and read the text in excerpts 3-A and 3-B. Brainstorm on how these images must have been gathered, produced, and published. Record all of the steps you think the artist must have gone through to the finished product. Discuss these artists' motivation and the benefits they gained from learning about the art of other cultures, and analyze the source of their attraction for Muslim art. Then, in small groups, identify applications for these designs in European life.
2. View image 4-D. Identify the building, its location and its purpose, as well as the source of inspiration for its design. What does it look like, and what is it in fact? **Field work project**: Assign each member of the class to take a notebook and sketch pad or camera with them on commutes around their local area for a week. Have them take notes on, sketch, or photograph examples of fantasy architecture, signs and decoration (interior or exterior). Note the location, the purpose of the structure (if known), and the source of the design. Identify as many examples as possible of "Islamic" influence in design or decoration, in addition to other styles. After a week, share the documentation of these examples with the class. Discuss the origin of the examples, the period in which they were built, and the reasons why these styles might have appealed to the builder or the owner. What social or economic purposes do these buildings fulfill, and how to these stylistic elements achieve their effect? What mood or associations do they evoke in the viewer? (For further help, see *The Oriental Obsession*, cited in the bibliography, and books at your local library, or try the Internet.)

3. View photographs 4-E and 4-F. Knowing that these images were very popular and widely sold, discuss how they might have influenced Western ideas about the region and its culture in the popular mind. On the other hand, how might the photographer's choice of subject have been affected by his own beliefs about his audience's image of Muslim society? What role might economic competition among artists and photographers have played in the growing mass market for their products? How and where might these images have been used in Western society? Finally, Compare these photographs with other photos, engravings and images of the East that appear throughout this unit. Discuss the way in which these images represent their subject and the larger Muslim society, referring to question #4, below. For further study and discussion, the book by Vaczek and Buckman cited in the bibliography, provides an outstanding variety of early photographs from the region.

4. Study the painting in 4-G and discuss its treatment of the subject and technique. Knowing that it is a fanciful depiction of the historical society of Muslim Spain, determine what sources the painter may have used to make the setting seem highly realistic. For example, compare the architectural detailing with Owens' drawing of the Alhambra, and the depiction of geometric designs in Hessemer's and other design books. What message and mood does the painter convey with the arrangement of the figures, and what story is he trying to tell on the canvas? What may have been the painter's source of information for the story, and why do you think such paintings were so popular in the 19th century?

5. **Optional Enrichment Activities**: (a) Research the Art Nouveau movement that was at its height around the turn of the twentieth century, and illustrate a report showing examples of influences from Muslim art and architecture in design, content, style and color. Include painting, industrial or craft design, book illustration and jewelry; (b) Identify a painter working during the late 19th and early 20th century whose style and content were influenced by Muslim art and design. Using a few examples, or just one, research the opinions of art historians on what elements of the artist's style demonstrate these influences. Find out whether or not the artist actually traveled to the region; (c) Locate in your library a copy of *The Arabian Nights* that contains the famous illustrations by Edmund Dulac. Analyze the view of historical Muslim society presented in these images. Write a report or do a class presentation demonstrating and discussing your findings; (d) Use the books on art listed in the bibliography to explore the use of fantastic styles and forms of architecture during the 19th century, and if possible, locate such a building in your own city or state. Find out when it was built, by whom, and for what purpose.

Questions to Guide Discussion

1. What led these individuals to search for artistic models and ideas outside their own culture? How did each utilize the knowledge, experience and appreciation they gained in their own work?
2. What factors resulting from the Industrial Revolution made so many artists search the world for new models of design, form, style and color and how did they apply their findings? How did industrialization itself help to spread these ideas? Are these influences still recognizable in products today? Give examples.
3. In what ways do the images produced by the artists and designers and those by the photographers present a different view of Muslim culture than those of the photographers? What do they have in common?
4. How does the widespread fascination with Islamic art and architecture fit into the overall context of Western views of the Muslim world during the 19th century? In what ways does it modify or influence the oft-mentioned contrast by travelers between a civilized Europe with the noble Western heritage of the ancient Near East, and the belief in a culturally backward, alien Muslim society?
5. Which artistic images seem to most closely represent the concept of Orientalism? Why?
6. What moods and associations do these images call forth in the Western viewer? Do you think that they present a realistic or distorted view of the society they intended to portray? Which images or aspects of the image do you think call up negative images of Muslim society, and which tend to idealize?

Background for Students

Europe's fascination with Islamic art may be traced back to the medieval period, when merchants, scholars, pilgrims and soldiers came into contact with Muslim culture. Architecture and its decorative elements introduced the forms of geometric or arabesque and floral design that had become typical in many forms of Muslim art. These designs appeared in metal inlay, stained glass work, ceramics, and leather book bindings, as well as in the brocade textiles which were a major export from the hands of Muslim artisans to Europe. In textiles, metalwork, glassware, and ceramics, trade and the transfer of techniques and designs introduced these crafts into European homes and palaces over several centuries. Through the Muslim presence in Sicily and other Italian coastal regions, the Crusades, commercial and military contact around the Mediterranean, and the journeys of European scholars to Spain, Europeans were gradually exposed to Muslim architectural techniques and design. Spanish and Italian architecture and decoration show much influence from Muslim styles, as the copy of an Italian mosaic floor by Hessemer demonstrates.

Design books by Owen Jones, F. M. Hessemer, and N. Simakoff represent a more intentional form of cultural borrowing than the more or less accidental influence of earlier periods. These books represent a very conscious effort by Europeans to systematically absorb the talents of the world's cultures, including earlier periods of their own history. These artists felt motivated to scour the world's artistic heritage in order to find models for improving industrial and commercial design.

As Europe's manufacturing capability grew, entrepreneurs created a flood of products for domestic use and export. In addition, as Europe's wealth, industry, and exposure to foreign architecture grew, the demand for extravagant public buildings grew as well. New types of architecture developed—factory halls, railway stations, power plants, steamships like floating towns, and giant exhibitions where the fruits of Empire were displayed. These projects strained the imagination of architects and designers, leading them to search for new ideas. A look at early commercial catalogues shows that design was not always in the best of taste, a fact noted in Owens' introduction.

Owen Jones and Hessemer were among the designers who traveled in search of artistic material from other cultures. From 1827-1830, F. M. Hessemer visited Italy and Egypt, sketchpad and notebook in hand. Jones spent a great deal of time in Granada, Spain during the mid-1800s, sketching, painting, and marveling over the Alhambra. The excerpt in the *Grammar of Ornament* expresses great admiration for the legendary Moorish palace, which sparked his interest in Muslim art and architecture in general. Jones also ranged through museums and art collections, copying and analyzing decorative elements gathered from foreign trade and travel, and from archaeological finds that were being dug up in the Near East. Toward the end of the century, Simakoff, a Russian artist, took part in an expedition sponsored by the Russian Imperial Government to survey its newly-conquered Central Asian lands (Emma Cochran, in Lesson 4, C and D, accompanied one of these expeditions.) Simakoff drew designs from fabrics, tiles, metalwork, architectural decoration, and jewelry, discovering the beauty in styles from little-known ethnic groups. These artists sat in the blazing summer heat to sketch, negotiated entry into palaces and religious buildings, lay on their backs to capture the look of a ceiling or climbed towers and domes to study a decorative detail high above the ground. Back home, their notes, drawings, and plans were transformed into color plates, carefully analyzing complex designs with mathematical skill and an artist's sense of proportion.

Using the new technique of color lithography [etching and printing with stone slabs], these artists' work could be reproduced in books. These were purchased by architects, artists and industrial as well as craft designers, by university librarians, museums, and schools of art, as well as the wealthy. As a result of the new mass-production of color images, their work spread quickly among members of the designing profession. It very soon influenced the look of European interiors and cityscapes.

The *Grammar of Ornament* was unique among these design books because Jones attempted to encompass the decorative art of all known ages and cultures. He analyzed the way color, form and arrangement were used, trying to understand universal elements of good design. As the excerpt shows, he was particularly impressed by the art of Islam. Owen Jones' work as an architect demonstrates that he integrated many Arabic and Muslim motifs in the steel-framed halls he built for railways, exhibition halls and other projects. A circle of artists and designers gathered around Jones, increasing the effect of his work. Jones also helped stimulate the Arts and Crafts movement of the later 19th century. As the name states, these designers—of whom William Morris (wallpaper image, above) was one of the most prominent—wanted to return to excellent design, solid handicraft work, and traditional materials of high quality. They were reacting against cheap, mass-produced goods that had changed the look of every space in the industrializing West. The movement produced wonderful things, but high prices limited their use mostly to the new villas of the wealthiest industrialists. Today Arts and Crafts objects are among the most prized antiques. Eventually, the artists' ideas trickled down, copied and interpreted for mass production.

The efforts of the 19th-century designers to improve the level of taste were quite successful, and we can trace their ideas through many art and design movements like Art Nouveau, Art Deco, and even the modernistic Bauhaus style. Even today, the design books by Jones, Simakoff, Hessemer have been reproduced as inexpensive editions, and are still used by craftpersons and artists.

Photography began its practical life in 1831 with French painter Louis Jacques Daguerre's images on silver plates coated with silver iodide, which could not be reproduced. Soon, paper negatives developed by William Talbot allowed photographers to make an unlimited number of prints. By 1839, the exposure time for the plates was down to just a few seconds. In 1847, glass photographic plates were coated with albumin (egg white) and developed with a silver-nitrate solution; they provided excellent images but required long exposures. Many early photographs of the Middle East were made by this process. By 1851, a British photographer introduced wet collodion plates which had to be exposed and developed immediately, requiring a darkroom close by. Francis Frith, photographing sites in Egypt, wrote about this process:

> *"The difficulties which I had to overcome in working collodion, in those hot and dry climates, were also very serious. When, at the Second Cataract, one thousand miles from the mouth of the Nile, with the thermometer at 110° in my tent, the collodion actually boiled when poured upon the glass plate, I almost despaired of success."*[14]

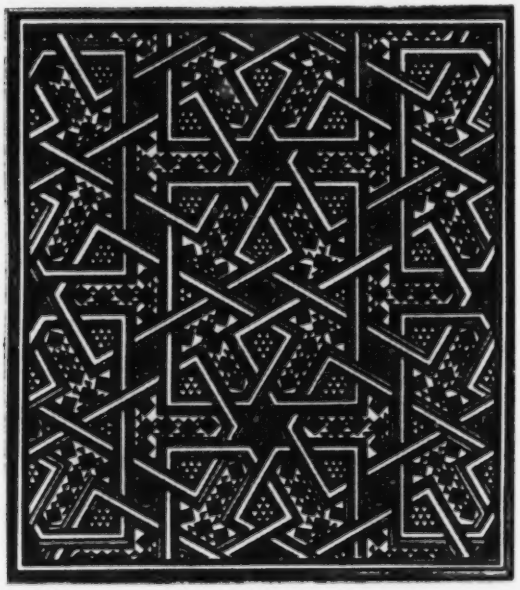
This is the same process Mathew Brady used to photograph Civil War battlefields. Dry-plate negatives that could be stored and later developed finally freed travelers from the need for portable, horse-drawn darkrooms. They became available between 1874 and 1878. Coated with an emulsion, they were similar to modern plates. The equipment was still quite bulky and fragile, but photographers managed to protect the plates from dust, heat and breakage through desert, rain and rugged roads.

Even as techniques progressed, a great deal of photography was done. The camera accompanied the growth of empire and of tourism. Photographic surveys were taken for purposes of mapping, of planning public works and military strategy, and for documenting scientific expeditions. Commercial photography—both studio portraits and images of popular sites, as well as artistic shots—also came into its own at this time. The big breakthrough came with George Eastman's invention of cellulose roll film in 1883. By the end of the century, travelers with nothing more burdensome than a box camera and film could record the places and people they met, bringing home images by the dozens. In 1900, Eastman's Brownie cameras cost a dollar, and they became standard equipment for amateur photographers and travelers.

Orientalist Paintings like the one by artist Georges Clairin were often made using photographs taken by travelers or commercial photographers working in the East. Other sources of inspiration were design books and art objects viewed at exhibitions and museums, as well as engravings, drawings and paintings made by travelers. Painters further transformed these images into realistic-looking fantasy works through their arrangement of costumed figures, carefully researched scenery, and props. They enhanced the exotic mood through use of color, soft lines and romantic lighting. The total effect was enhanced by the tendency of these painters to employ highly detailed realism. These paintings were later classified as Orientalist because of their combination of subject, technique, romanticism, and style. These paintings were very popular at the time, and commanded high prices. Appearing in illustrated books, Orientalist artistic productions contributed much to the romanticized, distorted image of a decadent and sensuous, yet romantic and fantastic East. The fact that many of the photographs purchased by these artists were artificially posed in the studio with paid models and inauthentic props doubled the cultural distortion. Such paintings were a product of travel twice removed, but their impact on Western cultural images of the Muslim East was quite significant. One way to gauge this impact is in the themes and motifs that still pervade Hollywood movies, television sitcoms, animated cartoons, advertising, children's books and other products of popular culture.

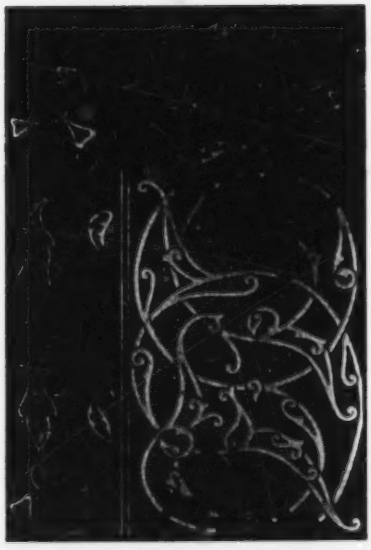
Student Resource 3-A

From Nineteenth Century Chromo-lithographic Design Books



This lithograph shows the Islamic influence in a 12th-century mosaic floor of the Baptistry at Pisa, Italy. The design was copied on site by F. M. Hessemer during his travels in Italy and Egypt from 1827-1830. Between 1836 and 1842, Hessemer worked up his drawings into a collection of 120 chromolithographs and published them in a rare book, *Arabic and Old Italian Architectural Ornaments* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1842). This is plate no. 77.

This lithograph of designs from decorative painting on Bukhara architecture was made from drawings by N. Simakoff. The artist and art historian was part of an expedition sent out in 1879 by the Russian government, for the purpose of exploring its newly acquired Central Asian territory.

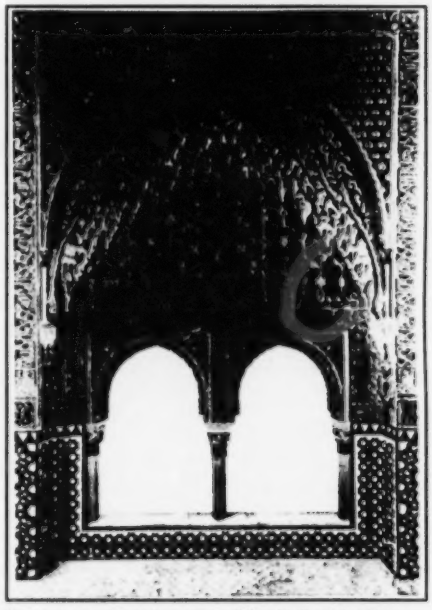


Student Resource 3-B

From Owen Jones' chromo-lithographic book on the decorative art of many cultures, *The Grammar of Ornament* (first published in 1856)[15]

From "Preface to the Folio Edition"

"I have proposed to myself in forming the collection...the *Grammar of Ornament*...to select a few of the most prominent types in certain styles...in which general laws appeared to reign independently of the individual peculiarities of each. I have ventured to hope that...I might aid in arresting that unfortunate tendency of our time to be content with copying, whilst the fashion lasts, the forms peculiar to any bygone age, without attempting to ascertain, generally completely ignoring, the peculiar circumstances which rendered an ornament beautiful...It is more probable that the first result of sending forth to the world this collection will be to increase this dangerous tendency, and that many will be content to borrow from the past those forms of beauty which have not already been used up ad nauseum. It has been my desire to arrest this tendency, and to awaken a higher ambition. If the student will but endeavor to search out the thoughts which have been expressed in so many different languages, he may assuredly hope to find an ever-gushing fountain in place of a half-filled stagnant reservoir." [16]



This pen and ink drawing of the Hall of the Two Sisters in the Alhambra was made by Owen Jones to accompany his studies of Moorish and Arabian decoration. Jones incorporated elements from other cultures in the decoration of buildings he designed.

From the section "Moresque Ornament"

"Our illustrations of the ornament of the Moors have been taken exclusively from the Alhambra...because it is the one of their works in which their marvelous system of decoration reached its culminating point. The Alhambra is the very summit of perfection of Moorish art, as is the Parthenon of Greek art. We can find no work so fitted to illustrate a Grammar of Ornament as that in which every ornament contains a grammar in itself. Every principle which we can derive from the study of the ornamental art of any other people is not only present here, but was by the Moors more universally and truly obeyed. We find in the Alhambra the speaking art of the Egyptians, the natural grace and refinement of the Greeks, the geometrical combinations of the Romans, the Byzantines and the Arabs. The ornament wanted but one charm, which was the peculiar feature of the Egyptian ornament, symbolism. This the religion of the Moors [Islam] forbade; but the want was more than supplied by the [Quranic] inscriptions, which, addressing themselves to the eye by their outward beauty, at once excited the intellect by the difficulties of deciphering their curious and complex involutions, and delighted the imagination when read, by the beauty of the sentiments and the music of their composition. To the artist and those provided with a mind to estimate the value of the beauty to which they gave a life they repeated, *Look and learn.* To the people they proclaimed the might,

majesty and good deeds of the king. To the king himself they never ceased declaring that there was none powerful but God, that He alone was conqueror, and that to Him alone was forever due praise and glory." [17]

General Principles Behind Moorish Art

"We...will here attempt to explain some of the general principles which appear to have guided the Moors in the decoration of the Alhambra—principles which are not theirs alone, but common to all the best periods in art. The principles which are everywhere the same, the forms only differ.

1. The Moors ever regarded what we hold to be the first principle in architecture—*to decorate construction, never to construct decoration*: in Moorish architecture not only does the decoration arise naturally from the construction, but the constructive idea is carried out in every detail of the ornamentation of the surface. We believe that true beauty in architecture results from that "*repose which the mind feels when the eye, the intellect and the affections are satisfied, from the absence of any want.*" When an object is constructed falsely...it fails to afford this repose, and therefore can never pretend to true beauty, however harmonious it may be in itself: the Mohammedan races, and the Moors especially, have constantly regarded this rule. "

Student Resource 3-C

Letter from William Morris, a founder of the Arts and Crafts Movement:

Letter to Thomas Wardle, April 13, 1877: "I saw yesterday a piece of ancient Persian [carpet] from the time of Shah Abbas (our Elizabeth's time) that fairly threw me on my back: I had no idea that such wonders could be done in carpets." Morris in a lecture, 1882: "To us pattern designers, Persia has become a holy land, for there in the process of time our art was perfected." [18]

Design by William Morris for a printed wallpaper, based on Islamic patterns.

Student Resource 3-D

Potsdam municipal water system steam pump housing

This steam pump housing for Potsdam's municipal water system was built in 1843, in a suburb of Berlin, Germany. What does it seem to be? Why do you think such a design was put to use for such a purpose?

Student Resource 3-E

Such images, called stereographs, were sold in thematic sets to be used in stereoscopes that gave the viewer a 3-D image. They became very popular as state-of-the-art educational medium, as parlor toys, and as boardwalk amusements at Western pleasure spots. These images, often posed in the studio rather than captured from life, were one of the first commercial successes for photography. Common themes included scenes from the Holy Land, Oriental life, crafts and occupations.

Student Resource 3-F

Catering to stay-at-home artists, photographers found a big market for images that painters could copy. The photographic processor has drawn a grid on this photo to make it easy for the artist to copy it onto the canvas. Many romantic, Orientalist paintings show evidence of being composed by juxtaposing numerous photographic images into a fantasy scene.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Student Resource 3-G

Orientalist painting by Georges Clairin[20]

"Entering the Harem," is a painting done in the 1870's by Orientalist painter Georges Clairin, who was a student of the famous Orientalist/Realist painter Jean-Leon Gerome. The scene shows how the artist imagined the later Muslim rulers in Granada, Spain, to have lived. The scene is made to appear very realistic through use of carefully researched architectural backgrounds, clothing, and artifacts. Although many of these artists seldom or never visited Muslim lands, they were much aided in their creation of realistic, highly detailed images by popular collections of photographs.

Lesson 4: Colonial Officials

Lesson Objectives

- Students will describe the social backgrounds from which colonial officials were drawn, the conditions under which they lived in the colonies and the status their profession accorded them in the home country and the colony.
- Students will analyze the relationship between European colonial governments and the indigenous people with whom they interacted, from the perspective of European officials.
- Students will analyze the social values and attitudes apparent in colonial officials' accounts of their residence in overseas colonies and diplomatic posts, and describe elements of their assessment of the culture of their host country.
- Students will assess effects of imperialism in the regions described and in the society of the colonizing power.

Lesson Activities

1. Read excerpts 4-A through 4-D. List the advantages and disadvantages to living the life of an official or diplomat during the 19th century. Stage a round robin discussion in which each member of the group brings out a point, pro or con, on joining the Indian Civil Service or the diplomatic service. Generate a list, and compare these points with the likely career of a person of similar social and occupational status remaining at home in England. How do you think these points would affect the decision of a member of the Civil Service to stay in India?
2. Divide the class into four small groups, assigning each to study one of excerpts 4-A though 4D. Have each group list the attributes of Indian and Russian society that are stated or implied in these accounts. Discuss the way in which these travelers' descriptions of foreign societies reflect attitudes about the European culture and the role it played in the world during the 19th century and cite the evidence on which these impressions are based.
3. Memoirs can be analyzed for layers of meaning. They convey information about the subject described as well as the traveler's personality, gender, social status, and value system. They provide clues about the writer's intended audience and the historical period. Memoirs also allow modern readers to reflect on their own reactions to the writing, and to clarify their attitudes. Using this approach, choose one of the longer passages above and write a paragraph describing your view of: (1) the insights the traveler gives us into the history of the time and place described, (2) what influences of the traveler's personality and life situation caused them to hold the attitudes they display in the description? (3) how you think readers' attitudes about the places, people and events described would have conditioned their responses to the description? (4) how do you react to the cultures and situations described? Do you think your own attitudes have been conditioned differently or similarly to those of the writer and his/her audience?

4. **Optional Enrichment Activities**:
   (a) Find out why the Capitulations were important in the Lausanne Convention as mentioned by Emma Ponafidine. What were they, and when were they signed?
   (b) The Central Asian states recently became independent from the Soviet Union, the successor government to Russian imperial rule. Use sources from the 1980s and 1990s to find out what resulted from the Russian policy of encouraging large-scale cotton cultivation in Uzbekistan, the country where Samarkand and Tashkent are located. (Hint: look up information about the Aral Sea.)
   (c) Research attitudes about culture and history held in the 19th and early 20th centuries, especially the role they believed climate played in civilization. Review your own knowledge about world history to explain the brief survey of Indian and English history given by Machonochie. Assess the accuracy of his version of the past.

Questions to Guide Discussion

1. What can we learn from these colonial officials about the manner in which the Russians and the British exercised power, and about the results of their rule?
2. What did recruits in the Indian Civil Service hope to gain from their careers?
3. What role did the figure called the *kavass* play in relations between Western residents and their host societies? How do you think people in Muslim societies viewed the Capitulations? Characterize Emma Ponafidine's attitudes toward them. Does she seem ambivalent? How does the kavass (Excerpt 4-C) compare to the figure of the rafiq (Excerpt 5-D) and the dragoman, or translator/guide, described in the other excerpts? How do you think these individuals fitted into their own societies?
4. How does Evan Machonochie's statement about the cultural equality between Indians and British compare with the statement made by Benjamin Disraeli in the novel *Tancred* (Excerpt 5-C) about the debt which he believes the West owes to the East?

Background for Students

Colonial and Diplomatic Careers during the Age of Imperialism

The backbone of Western empires were the diplomats and members of colonial governments who manned the consulates, embassies and administrative posts far from home. As the strands of empire became more tightly knit, the need for specialized workers grew, and the colonies employed many people from the mother country. Growing political and military control over expanding imperial domains held out the promise of glorious careers in colonial administration. Among these hopefuls were younger sons of aristocracts, and middle-class folk hoping to rise a few rungs on the social ladder. Wives went along and raised children in an exotic environment. Children were born abroad and often served as a second generation of colonial officials.

To rule India, the "Jewel in the Crown" of the British Empire, a separate branch of colonial administration, the Indian Civil Service (I.C.S.) was established. This huge bureaucratic machine had its own system of recruitment, its own career tracks, and reward system. An honorable and loyal careerist could hope to retire comfortably. The two officials whose memoirs are cited graced their names on the title pages with a string of initials indicating the honors they had earned. Communication with the home country was not limited to memoirs. During their service, letters back home, photographs, and official dispatches and reports were a regular feature of their lives. Together with family members, these officials made up an expatriate community—an enclave of Britishness in the midst of a foreign culture. Some stubbornly refused to traffic with the local folk. At the other extreme, those who became enamored of their host country ran the risk of "going native," at which point they were presumably useless to the colonial government. Most, however, maintained a balance between their empathy with the country where they were stationed and their identity as Europeans. Their involvement with the local culture was often expressed in hobbies—gardening in the Indian style, for example, collecting art, or learning the language. Some colonial officials used their leisure time far from home to become respected antiquarians, naturalists, literary translators, and promoters of the arts and cultural traditions of the lands to which they were posted. By means of these pastimes, they often transmitted information and stimulated interest in faraway cultures to the home audience.

The two colonial officials whose memoirs are excerpted represent a crucial type of colonial official. They were both District Collectors in the Indian Civil Service. As their memoirs show, they were invested with broad powers. Nominally, they were tax collectors and managers of the revenue from local agriculture and commerce, just as officials of the Mughal or Marathi governments had done before the British. Their power did not end with taxation, however. They exercised authority as judges or magistrates, land assessors, education officials and many other duties. Through them British rule was enforced, maintained and financed. Under them in certain positions were the native clerks who functioned as go-betweens for the British in India. At the top of the colonial power pyramid was the Viceroy of India, who answered to the British monarch. These officials were real potentates who directed all the affairs of the country. While these powerful individuals all had biographers and wrote memoirs, it is interesting to study the attitudes of more ordinary Britons who dealt directly with the Indians under colonial rule.

Emma Cochran Ponafidine represents the many Western travelers who served as diplomats. She was the American wife of a Russian diplomat, but she had her own long-term relationship with Asian culture. She was born in 1863 in the Persian village of Sier, a mountain town where many of the

inhabitants were Nestorian Christians. Nestorians belong to an early sect that spread deep into Asia from late Roman and Sassanian Persian times, before the spread of Islam. Nestorian Christians were found as far east as the imperial capital of China, and are known to have been influential among the Mongols. Emma Cochran was the daughter of American Presbyterian missionaries, her father being the principal of a seminary or college for Nestorians. She lost her father at the age of seven and was sent to the United States for her education. She wanted to return to Persia, where she had grown up and learned several languages and trained as a nurse to help her brother, who was a doctor. In 1885, she returned to Persia to work in the Westminster Hospital as a surgical nurse. Her brother and mother were founders of the hospital where Emma worked until she married.

Emma's marriage puts her into the category of "colonial officials," though her memoir could be considered from several points of view. At Tabriz, Emma met her husband, Russian Consul-General in Baghdad, in 1894. Together, they undertook diplomatic journeys to India, representing the Russian Foreign Office on the Boundary Commission of British India, Afghanistan, and Russia, surveying borders in mountainous, outlying areas of Central Asia, which had been recently colonized by Imperial Russia. (*The artist N. Simakoff served on a similar expedition. See Excerpt 4-A.*) The first excerpt describes the conditions under which European diplomats lived in major cities of the Muslim world. Emma describes the extra-territorial status of the diplomats and the local reactions that could bring. It also shows the contrast in social mores between Europeans and locals and how these differences could explode in unpredictable ways if the Europeans did not show sensitivity. In the second excerpt, Emma describes her attitudes about Russian colonial administration and the indigenous people of the Central Asian region where her husband is stationed. Her writing is especially interesting for the way it reflects her understanding of and love for the region and its people, while at the same time sharing the interests of the Western elite whose power was growing there. Her story also represents the way travelers of missionary background often flowed into the diplomatic and colonial services. The United States Department of State, for example, had employed many advisers and career diplomats with backgrounds as with missionaries or workers in mission schools and hospitals.

Student Resource 4-A

From Sir Evan Machonochie's memoir, *Life in the Indian Civil Service* [21]

"Few Englishmen would belittle the attractions of a career that offered no more than daily occupation to suit every taste, the opportunity of service to the Empire, adventures to the adventurous and the chance of highest personal distinction."[22]

"[The District Collector or Officer]... is an important person indeed, for on his efficiency largely depends the peace and administrative well-being of an area that may extend to 5,000 square miles or more, with a population that is sometimes reckoned in millions. He is the 'collector' of the Land Revenue and, as Chief Magistrate of the District, is responsible for law and order and the supervision of the subordinate magistracy...he must further busy himself, not only with every department of the administration, education, local self-government, hospitals, sanitation, factories, jails, and police, but with everything that concerns the daily welfare of the people entrusted to his charge."[23]

Show me a good Collector, who knows his work and how to do it, who can impress his personality on his staff and District, who knows when to praise, when to blame and when to be silent, who is regarded by the rich as confidant and friend and by the poor as refuge in time of trouble, and I will show you as contented a bit of country as is to be found in an imperfect world, and a team of workers not to be excelled."[24]

"Questions as to racial equality seem to me beside the point. What race is there that should claim superiority to peoples that gave the world a Buddha, an Asoka, and an Akbar, religions and philosophies that embrace every religion and school of thought that has ever existed, an epic literature perhaps unrivaled, and some of the greatest masterpieces in the realm of human art? But there is a difference between Indians and ourselves, and that is why the Empire grew up and why we are still in India. That difference is due to climate, environment and tradition. In our own case, during hundreds of years of peace and immunity from invasion, a hard-bitten island race, born under Northern skies and invigorated by Northern blasts, has won its way to political freedom by a tenacious struggle, first with autocracy, later with oligarchy, and finally with aristocracy. The story of India, since long before the dawn of history, is one of a continental country swept by successive invasions from the North, of invaders gradually enervated by a tropical climate, of the submersion of the invaders by fresh waves of conquest, and finally of internecine struggles which laid the land at the mercy of the West and invited aggression, or at least, intervention. How should there not be a difference? It is best to leave it at that and let the question of equality alone."[25]

Student Resource 4-B

From W. O. Horne's memoir, *Work and Sport in the Old I.C.S.* [26]

"My minimum service for pension was completed by the end of my leave, and...I was very ready to cut India if I could find employment at home. That was a very difficult thing for an I.C.S. [Indian Civil Service] man to do. He was trained in no trade or profession, except indeed that of governing, and people at home have no wish to be governed."

Student Resource 4-C and 4-D

From Emma Cochran Ponafidine's memoir, My Life in the Moslem East [27]

"Ominous Baghdad"

"There had been but one Russian Consul in Baghdad before 1889, and he had accomplished little. Early in his stay, his wife, unacquainted with Eastern ideas and the danger of going against prejudices in countries where Europeans were little known, had an unfortunate experience. Making a call one day accompanied by two kavasses, she passed through the main street (on which all European consulates were situated) with face unveiled and in a summer dress that was rather open at the neck.

I must explain what a *kavass* in Turkey, or *ghulam* in Persia, is. In those Eastern countries where the "Capitulations" that came so conspicuously before the world at the previous Lausanne Conference are in effect, peculiar privileges are attached to diplomatic missions. As no country of Europe could permit the arrest of any of its citizens by police of any Eastern country, under the Capitulations the consulates had their own police force as well as courts and jail, and in some instances their own post. The kavass was a citizen of the country in question, often of exceedingly good family. He wore a uniform or livery of the [foreign] country to which he was attached. Under the orders of the consulate, these men had the right to arrest any of their own citizens against whom local complaint had been made and to search their houses if so ordered. The kavasses were also guards of honor, always accompanying the officials on the street and, nominally at least, responsible for their safety. Anything happening to a foreign official or his family when accompanied by a kavass made a strong case when satisfaction was demanded. On this day, then, the Consul's wife was correct in that she was on the street accompanied by kavasses, but she was wrong in defying public opinion in her manner of dress. Walking along the narrow sidewalk, she saw a rider approaching, evidently a man of position, as he was accompanied by a number of outriders. As the Turk drew near, he suddenly turned his horse onto the sidewalk as if to ride the lady down. The kavass who walked ahead of her put up his hand, saying politely, "Effendim (Sir), this is the wife of the Russian Consul, please let her pass." The Pasha reigned in his horse and poured forth a stream of abuse on a woman, be she even a Russian official's wife (which he doubted), who could show herself so indecently dressed in a public place. Of course a "diplomatic incident" resulted. A foreign official's wife had been insulted while accompanied by kavasses. To a consulate in the far interior, this was a serious matter. The prestige of the whole country the Consul represented was at stake, for the only standard by which the Orientals could judge of those distant Franji [European] nations was through their representatives and by the pomp surrounding them and by their local influence. The matter was referred to the Embassy at Constantinople and taken up warmly at first, but it soon appeared that the Pasha in question was a big man in Baghdad and with influence in the capital. The Embassy was just then negotiating some delicate matters, and here was this tiresome case to make bad feeling. The result was that the (to them) smaller question was ignored. The Consul was informed that he must drop the matter—try to smooth it over, that, after all, his wife was to blame, etc. In consequence the Consul lost all his influence...feeling aggrieved, that the Embassy had not backed him, [he] resigned from the service. For years, no other representative had been sent...In 1888, ...the Russian Foreign

Office decided to make Baghdad an important post. It was raised to a Consulate-General and a man with diplomatic tact and knowledge of the psychology of the Oriental was sought, who would be able to live down the past and raise the Russian prestige. So the official complications and perplexities of my husband were greater than I, a young housekeeper in a new land, had to confront....

The [Russian] Ambassador [at Constantinople] was dismayed to find that I was accompanying my husband, foreseeing a repetition of the former troubles. He at first urged my returning to Russia, at least until Mr. Ponafidine had restored the prestige and won a position that would insure me against insult. The Ambassador reluctantly acquiesced in my going only after my husband had assured him that I was so familiar with life in the interior of the Moslem countries that he was certain I would avoid all "incidents." And I did succeed, though often at the cost of a great deal of personal discomfort. I never rode or walked through the streets without a veil so thick as to conceal my features—and this in that sultry climate and when calling at even a house opposite where I had simply to cross the street. I always had four kavasses, two marching solemnly before me and two behind."[28]

"Tashkent"

"Many of the old traditional tales were related to us by eye-witnesses, for Russia's occupation was of comparatively recent date. It was hard to believe that so very recently this had been a land of nomadic Turcomans, raiding and terrorizing the sedentary Kirghizes and Sarts. Oriental mismanagement had made this land, so rich in possibilities, a poverty-stricken country with the great flocks and herds in the hands of a few. At the constant mercy of highwaymen, agriculture was carried on in the most primitive fashion. The Russian occupation, though made at the point of the sword, brought peace and prosperity. Immigration increased, trees and seeds suited to the country were introduced. Colonists from Russia were encouraged to settle, and soon the rich soil and the security from the Turcomans brought results. Samarkand and Tashkent were buried in gardens. Fruit—the most wonderful strawberries—and choicest vegetables were cultivated by the Sarts, who were quick to learn the demands of the Russian markets and became successful gardeners...

Baron Vrevsky [the Governor-General of the Russian Imperial government at Tashkent] was deeply interested in the efforts then being made by the government to attract Russian colonists to this agriculturally promising and sparsely settled part of the Empire. Land, material help in building, horses, cattle and even poultry were furnished them for a start, and for the first two or three years the normal price on products guaranteed them, whatever might be the state of the market. Another inducement offered by the government was that the sons of colonists and of Russians serving in Turkestan should be free from military conscription if the sons were born in that country. The conservative Russian was slow to respond, even when suffering from want of land, and much persuasion and propaganda had to be employed. It was quite different with the peasants of German extraction, who, when lacking land, were quick to take advantage of the offer. Baron Vrevsky made an inspection of "his children"—these villages—every spring and fall and always returned perplexed and discouraged by the comparison between the Russian and the German peasant. Much that is to be pitied in the life of the Russian peasants is attributable, not only to the conditions under which they live and to the attitude of the government, but to their own shiftless and conservative ways. They will not learn anything, as Baron Vrevsky found. These villages were not much better than those in Russia. They were dirty and disorderly. In some cases there were no geese and ducks because, the peasants said, the government had ceased to provide food for them. The German colonists, on the contrary, had made the most of the favorable conditions. Everything was neat in houses and stables. Cattle and poultry increased and were well cared for. Inside, the same thrift was manifest, and the home-cured hams, sausages, cheese and jam gave proof of a higher standard of living...

The Turcomans, formerly the terror of the sedentary inhabitants of all of Russian Turkestan and of northern Persia, were also coming under the influence of civilization...In the schools attended by the natives, Russian was compulsory, though their own language could also be kept up. Military conscription was not laid on these comparatively new Russian citizens, and a special clause in the law provided for a much smaller punishment for crimes committed by the natives, on the principle that in their low state of civilization less should be demanded of them than of Russians. This point of view was justified among the peaceful Sarts and Kirghizes but had disastrous consequences in the Caucasus, where the bold, lawless mountaineers had to be held in check...The best efforts were made in all branches to develop to their uttermost the resources of Turkestan...Cotton plantations, with seeds and even experts from America, were introduced, and before the war Russia was on the way not only to furnishing her own cotton but to having it a large item of export. Railroads and post-roads, schools and hospitals were increasing. Yet notwithstanding the vast amounts spent by the Russian Government on these new provinces, the natives were not oppressed...In fact, nothing in our new life struck us more forcibly that the beneficial civilizing work of Russia in her Eastern expansion."[29]

Lesson 5: Political Figures

Lesson Objectives

- Students will describe the relationship between travelers' descriptions and the acquisition of imperial power over the regions they visited.
- Students will compare and contrast perceptions about civilization vs. barbarism, or advancement and backwardness among these 19th-century observers and infer how these attitudes influenced domestic public support for European conquest and control of the regions they describe.
- Students will identify the tools of conquest, including human and technological resources, used by European governments to acquire and control colonial possessions or spheres of influence and describe how individual Europeans built careers in this endeavor.
- Students will assess the roles played by indigenous people in the exploration and conquest of the regions described and contrast these with Western attitudes about those cultures and societies.

Lesson Activities

1. Read excerpts 5-A through 5-B. Working in small groups, have them identify and list traditional and advanced (in 19th-century terms) technology to which the British had access, including transport, communication, weaponry, and soldiers' equipment. Use a dictionary or encyclopedia to research the weapons mentioned in Churchill's dispatches from the Sudan.[30] Discuss the advantages these weapons and technology gave to the British. How did they alter military strategy and the conduct of war?
2. Study excerpts 5-A, 5-B and 5-D and identify the indigenous persons or groups that the travelers describe as supporting the Europeans in attaining their objectives. Describe these roles and discuss the likely social position and personal qualities and attitudes they would have possessed in order to fulfill these roles. Contrast Churchill's and Bell's attitudes toward these support persons.
3. Using excerpts 5-A through 5-D, compare the degree of affinity which each writer seems to have felt toward the environment he or she described. How did each relate to the culture of the society they witnessed? Which writer shows the greatest affinity, and which seems the most alienated from their surroundings? How did each writer address the perception of inferiority and superiority regarding themselves and the indigenous people of the region? What descriptive terms convey this perception to the reader?

4. Have the students read excerpt 5-D. Make a Venn diagram showing the acts and achievements described in the letters that Gertrude Bell would have been able to carry out if she had stayed home in England, and those that were only possible as a traveler in the Middle East, listing in the overlapping space those that she might carry out in either environment. Use your knowledge of 19th-century British and Arab society to discuss the contrast between expectations concerning women's abilities and social roles with the reception Gertrude Bell received among the people she encountered. How do you account for her effectiveness and ability to carry out her objectives in both environments?

Questions to Guide Discussion

1. How did the imbalance in technology described by these travelers contribute to the expansion of the British Empire? In your opinion, how do Churchill's attitudes toward war and the enemy incorporate the idea of superiority in technology as related to cultural superiority in general? Do you think he would reject or accept Kipling's assessment of the Sudanese fighters? (see photo caption)
2. Contrast the attitude expressed by Disraeli's characters about the origins and qualities of civilization with those expressed in Winston Churchill's reports on the Afghan campaign and the battle for the Sudan. How does the idea of civilization relate to the justification for empire-building?
3. Contrast Tancred's reflections and his spiritual experience of the East with those expressed in the excerpts by Lady Herbert, E. Joy Morris at Karnac, and Austen Layard. How do these travelers view their cultural and personal relationship toward being "in the East" and, culturally speaking, "of the East"? What commentary did Disraeli make on travel when Tancred spoke of "the proverbial restlessness of a satiated aristocrat" and "travelling dilettante"? Do you think any of the travelers in this unit fit that description? Compare Tancred's attitude about the roots and identity of Western civilization, and about the spiritual or moral debt of the West to other cultures. How did this reverence and respect contrast with their attitudes about the condition of the societies they observed during their travels?
4. What role does geography and the need to gather and impart geographic knowledge play in discussions of imperial domination? Discuss the insights Churchill and Bell convey in their writings.

Background for Students

Political Figures

This group of excerpts (Student Resources 5A-5D) represents expressions of travel by individuals who later became influential political figures, often setting and implementing policy goals as prominent appointees or office-holders. All were what that age considered "great travelers," meaning that they traveled widely and were able to move with facility in a foreign society. Their writing was influential and often widely published in European social and political circles. While these records of travel include one novel, the other two are excerpts from personal letters sent home to Europe. Churchill's letters were addressed to Lady Randolph Churchill, his American-born mother, but they were bought and published by prominent British newspapers, whose readers hung on every exciting word. Gertrude Bell's letters to her father were published in the 1920s, but before that, many of her reports and letters also reached newspapers, officials or influential friends of her wealthy and prominent industrialist father, Hugh Bell. She also published many books and articles in order to finance her travels, and later wrote about the region as part of her official duties. Disraeli's novel received bad reviews when first published, but it became better known after the author achieved fame as a politician. This novel even appeared in a political cartoon printed in *Punch* in 1857, when Disraeli was ridiculed for his ideas about the "Asiatic Mystery" (which Tancred discovers in the excerpt in this unit).

Winston Churchill certainly counts as one of the most prominent political figures of the twentieth century. In these dispatches from his early career accompanying the British imperial army as war correspondent, we see the young Churchill excited with adventure and admiration. At the same time, he was carefully analyzing and assessing the state of Empire and its needs, sizing up the opposition, and assessing geographic and strategic elements that were important to British interests. Churchill is an acute observer who is sometimes romantically inclined, and a very descriptive writer. His use of color cues and similes to convey the mood and influence the reader's judgment of the scene is quite remarkable. It is also interesting to note how he appealed to the home audience as a patriotic son and advocate of Britain's imperial role. Among the passages from his war dispatches, however, are some very sober assessments of war, like this reflection following the death of a friend during the Battle of Omdurman, "*And at this shocking news the exhilaration of the gallop, the excitement of the moment, the joy and triumph of successful combat faded from the mind, and the realisation came home with awful force that war, disguise it as you may, is but a dirty, shoddy business, which only a fool would play at.*"[31] He would witness a great many more wars throughout his long career as a statesman.

Benjamin Disraeli was Prime Minister of England in 1868 and from 1874 to 1880, under Queen Victoria. Disraeli was Britain's first Jewish prime minister, though his father had him baptized as an Anglican Protestant against his mother's wishes. An important political accomplishment was Disraeli's decisive role in of Britain's purchase of the Suez Canal from Egypt. Like many young men of his rank, his early career included travel, and he expressed his experiences in a novel. *Tancred*, while it is not a great literary work, is very interesting for the reflections it contains about how some

Europeans viewed their relationship to "Eastern civilization" and how these ideas contributed to formulating the political goals that European politicians carried out in the region. It is noteworthy that he identified Jews and Arabs as inheritors of the same Eastern religious and cultural heritage. Tancred, a young English son of the landed aristocracy, is the main character in Disraeli's novel about pilgrimage to the Holy Land. He was the descendant of the famous crusader Tancred, and a Protestant with the missionary spirit. Tancred felt compelled to travel in order to discover his roots, his goals as a future member of the House of Lords and as a responsible member of England's governing class. His image of the region and its culture was influenced not so much by his sense of England's self-conscious power and progressiveness, but of his worry over what his country lacked in understanding. He sought to clarify the role of Near Eastern wisdom, religion, holy law and ethics in shaping modern life.

Gertrude Bell (1868- 1926) was among the most versatile and prominent English travelers. Her life is an excellent example of the transformation of devoted travelers from one type of travel personality into another as their careers and experience progressed. She began as a casual traveler who had connections in diplomatic, intellectual and artistic circles. Then she fell in love with the romance of the region and the possibilities for self-realization it offered her as a European woman. She traveled adventurously in dangerous, remote areas of the Arabian desert, was an accomplished mountain-climber, wrote about the land and culture of the Middle East, translated Persian poetry, wrote books on the region, delved deeply into archaeology, wrote articles for British newspapers and journals. Her contribution to establishing important archaeological museums in Iraq is still recognized today. Her knowledge of Arab tribes and their location made her an important resource for British military and political intelligence. Finally, she became the first woman ever to be appointed political officer for the British government, serving as principal cartographer for the colonial government in Mesopotamia. Confidant of the British-installed King Faisal, she carried out important diplomatic functions as the state of Iraq was carved out of former Ottoman territories.

After her death in the 1920s, Gertrude's stepmother Lady Bell compiled and edited her many letters. To provide context for the letters from her 1914 journeys in Arabia, Lady Bell quoted Dr. David Hogarth—the British archaeologist featured earlier in this unit—who also served as a British intelligence official. This quote is from a speech given in 1927 at the Royal Geographic Society:

> *"Her journey was a pioneer venture which not only put on the map a line of wells, before unplaced or unknown, but also cast much new light on the history of the desert frontiers under Roman, Palmyrene, and Umayyad domination... But perhaps the most valuable result consists in the mass of information that she accumulated about the tribal elements ranging between the Hejaz Railway on the one flank and the Sirhan and Nefud on the other, particularly about the Howaitat group, of which* [T.E., "Lawrence of Arabia"] *Lawrence, relying on her reports, made signal use in the Arab campaigns of 1917 and 1918. Her stay in Hayil was fruitful of political information especially concerning both the recent history and the actual state of the Rashid house, and also its actual and probable relations with the rival power of the Ibn Sauds. Her information proved of great value during the war, when Hayil had ranged itself with the enemy and was menacing our Euphratean flank. Miss Bell became from 1915 onwards, the interpreter of all reports received from Central Arabia."*[32]

Student Resource 5-A

From Churchill's Dispatches from the Campaign against the Mahdi's Forces in the Sudan[33]

Korosko, 8 August 1898 [*on the way up the Nile toward Khartoum with the British/Egyptian expeditionary forces*]

"The days pass slowly on the steamer. The scenery is monotonous, the sky an unclouded blue, the weather set fair. But one idea grows steadily in the mind until it fills it altogether—the Nile. It is everything. It is all there is...It is the great waterway of Africa. It is the life and soul of Egypt. It is Egypt, since without it there is only desert. We shall drink its waters, duly filtered. We shall continue to wash in it, charged as it is with the magic mud which can make the wilderness a garden and raise cities from the desolate sand. On its waters we shall be carried southwards to the war and on to Khartoum. It is the cause of the war. It is the means by which we fight. It is the end at which we aim. Through every page which I write to you about the campaign your imagination must make the Nile flow. It must glisten through the palm trees during the actions. You must think of the lines of animals, camels, horses and slaughter cattle, that march from camps every evening to be watered. Without the river we should never have started. Without it we could not exist. Without it we can never return.

...We reached Aswan at last, and there began again the business of disembarkation. The first cataract of the Nile opposed the further passage of the original steamer. But above the cataract another waited."

Khartoum, 6 September 1898

"we watched, amazed by the wonder of the sight, the whole face of the slope became black with swarming savages. Four miles from end to end, and in five great divisions, this mighty army advanced, and swiftly. The whole side of the hill seemed to move. Between the masses horsemen galloped continually. Before them many patrols dotted the pain, above them waved hundreds of banners, and the sun, glinting on perhaps forty thousand hostile spear points, spread a sparkling cloud. It was, perhaps, the impression of a lifetime, nor do I expect ever again to see such an awe-inspiring and formidable sight. We estimated their number at not less than forty thousand men, and it is now certain fifty-thousand would have been nearer the truth.

The steady and continuous advance of the great army compelled us to mount our horses and trot off to some safer point of view, while our patrols and two detached troops, engaging the Dervish scouts, opened a dropping fusillade. I was sent back to describe the state of affairs to the Sirdar, but as he had already witnessed the spectacle from the top of the black hill—Heliograph Hill I shall call it in the future—you are the first to receive my account.

...I have told you of one sight which I witnessed on the 1st of September, and I were but a poor chronicler if I were to forget or omit the other. At about eleven o'clock the gunboats had ascended the Nile and engaged the enemies' batteries on the river face of Omdurman [near Khartoum].Throughout the day the loud reports of their guns could be heard, and looking from our position on the ridge we could see the white vessels steaming slowly forward against the current under clouds of black smoke from their furnaces, amid other white clouds of white smoke from their artillery. The forts replied vigorously, but the British aim was accurate and their fire crushing. The embrasures were smashed to bits, and many of the Dervish guns dismounted. Then the gunboats began to shell the Mahdi's tomb.

The dome of the Tomb rose high and prominent above the mud houses of the city. A lyddite shell burst over it—a great flash, a white ball of smoke, and after a pause, the dull thud of the distant

explosion. Another and another followed. Presently, instead of the white smoke there was a prodigious cloud of red dust, and the whole Tomb disappeared. When this cleared away we saw that instead of being pointed it was now flat-topped. Our shells continue to strike it with like effect, some breaking holes in the dome, others masking off the cupolas, all enveloping it in dust, until I marveled alike at the admirable precision and the wasteful folly of the practice...

Forthwith the gunboats, and the 32nd Battery, and other guns from the zareba [fortifications] opened on them [the enemy troops on the hillside]. I was but three hundred yards away, and with excellent glasses could see almost the faces of the Dervishes who met the fearful fire. About twenty shells struck them in the first minute. Some burst high into the air, others exactly in their faces. Others again plunged into the sand and exploding, dashed clouds of red dust, splinters, and bullets amid their ranks. The white flags toppled over in all directions. Yet they rose again immediately, as other men pressed forward to die in Allah's cause and in the defense of the successor of the True Prophet of The Only God. It was a terrible sight, for as yet they had not hurt us at all, and it seemed an unfair advantage to strike thus cruelly when they could not reply.

From the purely military point of view I was not impressed with the effects of the shells. I had looked to see fifty men drop to each projectile. You read of these things in the text books on war, and you hear them stated every time you talk to an artillery officer. What soldier has not heard of the results of target practice? Eighty per cent of hits, etc. I watched most carefully, and from a close and excellent position. About five men on the average fell to each shell. Still, there were many shells. Under their influence the mass of the 'white flagmen' dissolved into thin lines of spearmen and skirmishers, and came on in altered formation and diminished numbers, but with unabated enthusiasm.

And now, the whole attack being thoroughly exposed, it became the duty of the cavalry to clear the front as quickly as possible and leave the further conduct of the debate to the infantry and the Maxim guns. We therefore retired into the zareba, and, taking advantage of the river bank, watered and fed our horses, while all the time the fusillade grew louder and more intense, and we wondered what progress the attack was making.

...The Lancers remained in possession of the dearly-bought ground. There was not much to show that there had been a desperate fight. A quarter of a mile away nothing would have been noticed. Close to, the scene looked like a place where rubbish is thrown, or where a fair has recently been held. White objects, like dirty bits of newspaper, lay scattered here and there—the bodies of the enemy. Brown objects almost the colour of the earth, like bundles of dead grass or heaps of manure, were also dotted about—the bodies of soldiers. Among these were goat-skin water bottles, broken weapons, torn and draggled flags, cartridge cases. In the foreground lay a group of dead horses and several dead or dying donkeys. It was all litter.

Contemporary photograph of Sudanese soldiers. Rudyard Kipling wrote a couplet about the famous Dervish fighters who proved such a challenge to British plans for the Sudan. They express similar attitudes to those in Churchill's dispatches.

"So 'ere's to you, Fuzzy Wuzzy, at your 'ome in the Soudan; You're a pore benighted 'eathen but a first-class fightin' man."

We gathered reverently the poor remains of what had but a quarter of an hour before been the soldiers of a great and civilized Empire, and, horrified at their frightful wounds, laid them in a row. The wounded were sent with a small escort towards the river and hospitals. Then we remounted..."

Student Resource 5-B

From Winston Churchill's 1897 Dispatches as War Correspondent from the Afghan Frontier War[34]

KHAR, 6 September

"Starting with the assumption that our Empire in India is worth holding, and admitting the possibility that others besides ourselves might wish to possess it, it obviously becomes our duty to adopt measures for its safety. It is a question of a line of defense. The Indus is now recognized by all strategists as being useless for this purpose. The most natural way of preventing an enemy from entering a house is to hold the door and windows; and the general consensus of opinion is that to secure India it is necessary to hold the passes of the mountains. With this view small military posts have been built along the frontier. The tribes whose territories adjoin have not been interfered with. Their independence has been respected, and their degradation undisturbed. More than this, the influence of the flag that flies from the fort on the hill has stimulated the trade of the valley, and increased the wealth of its inhabitants. Were the latter amenable to logical reasoning ,the improvement in their condition and the strength of their adversaries would have convinced them of the folly of an outbreak. But in a land of fanatics common sense does not exist.

The defeat of the Greeks sent an electric thrill through Islam. The Amir (Wadda Mullah, a Mohammedan priest. Published an inflammatory book in Delhi during 1896, and had particular influence with the Afghani Mohmands) —a negative conductor—is said to have communicated it to the 'Mullahs', and they generated the disturbance among the frontier tribes. The ensuing flash has kindled a widespread conflagration. This must now be dealt with courageously and intelligently. It is useless, and often dangerous, to argue with an Afghan. Not because he is degraded, not because we covet his valleys, but because his actions interfere with the safety of our Empire, he must be crushed. There are many in Europe, though they live amid the prosaic surroundings of a highly developed country, where economics and finance reign supreme, who yet regard, with pleasure and with pride, the wide dominions of which they are the trustees.

These, when they read that savages have been killed for attacking British posts and menacing the security of our possessions, will not hesitate to say, with firmness and without reserve, 'So perish all who do the like again'.

Nawagai, 12 September

In my last letter to you I gave some account of the march of a column of troops in service in India. Since then we have been continuously moving, at a rate varying from eight to fourteen miles a day, and we have now arrived at the entrance of the passes which give access to the country of the Mohmands. The two brigades which compose the force Sir Bindon Blood intends to employ against this tribe move separately under their own brigadiers, but keep within four or five miles of each other, so as to be able to concentrate at the shortest possible notice. Starting by starlight, a halt is made at about eight o'clock for breakfast, and the troops usually reach the camping-ground at midday. Many people have read of the sufferings of the British soldiers in the Indian Mutiny, through being compelled to march and fight in the hot weather. August and September in these parts are as hot as it is agreeable to imagine or elegant to express, and the exposure to the sun is undoubtedly a very severe trial to the European troops. Of course, since 1857 sweeping changes have been made in the dress of the soldier. The pith helmet, with its long covering shade, shields the head and face. A padded spine-protector is buttoned on to the back, and a loose and cozy khaki uniform is

substituted for the stocks and tunics of former days. But the sun remains the same, and all precautions can only modify without preventing the evil effects. What those effects are, the hospital returns will tell with more force than many words.

The men are so cheery and good-humoured, so anxious to get on, so eager to find the enemy, so pleased at being on active service, that it is only right that their endurance of severe hardships should be recorded. On the march the British and native regiments mutually inspire each other to exertions. The soldiers of India naturally feel the effects of the climate less than those from cooler lands. This, of course, the British infantryman will not admit. The dominant race resent the slightest suggestion of inferiority. When we arrived at the camping-ground this morning the camel transport was far behind, and it was necessary to wait on the bare and dusty plateau for a couple of hours, in the blaze of the sun, until the baggage should arrive. I talked to some of the Queen's regiment—which is the English regiment with the 3rd Brigade. The men had just marched fourteen miles with arms and ammunition, and not one had fallen out by the way. They looked strained and weary, but nothing would induce them to admit it. 'An easy march,' they said. 'Should have been here long ago if the native troops had not kept halting.' This is the material for empire-building. Nor should the sepoy [Indian soldier] be forgotten. There are few troops in the world would do what the 35th Sikhs did on 1 August. When a regiment marches till eighteen of its men die on the road rather than leave the ranks, it must be admitted that they are animated by that very high courage which not only dares but endures.

Among the "native" soldiers who fought side-by-side with the British at the Battle of Omdurman and in other campaigns across the Empire were these Sikh soldiers from India. Note how Churchill describes the way these colonial regiments were organized and the role they played in the imperial forces.

Nothing is so remarkable as the ascendancy which the British officer maintains over the native soldier. The dark sowars [low-ranking Indian soldiers] follow the young English subaltern who commands them with a strange devotion. He is their 'butcha'—the best in the regiment—as brave as a lion. None rides so straight as he; no one is so confident. Things seem to be going wrong; men and horses are rolling over. But looking at him they feel it is all right. He is 'in the know', and will pull them out of any difficulty. To save his life they will sacrifice their own. Nor could a squadron face its comrades if their officer's body had been left in the hands of the enemy. The military history of England—a long and diverse volume—does not record an instance of their confidence being misplaced...

The present state of affairs on the frontier raises several serious questions, and as the column is halted for a few days I shall devote a couple of letters to submitting to the Englishmen at home the opinion of some of his countrymen abroad on matters that affect their common interests and possessions."

Student Resource 5-C

From Benjamin Disraeli's novel, *Tancred, or the New Crusade*[35]

"It was one of those moments of amiable weakness which make us all akin, when sublime ambition, the mystical predispositions of genius, the solemn sense of duty, all the heaped-up lore of ages, and the dogmas of high philosophy alike desert us, or sink into nothingness. The voice of his mother sounded in his ear, and he was haunted by his father's anxious glance. Why was he there? Why was he, the child of a northern isle, in the heart of the Stony Arabia, far from the scene of his birth and of his duties? A disheartening, awful question, which, if it could not be satisfactorily answered by Tancred of Monacute, it seemed to him that his future, wherever or however passed, must be one of intolerable bale [unhappiness].

Was he, then, a stranger there? Uncalled, unexpected, intrusive, unwelcome? Was it a morbid curiosity, or the proverbial restlessness of a satiated aristocrat, that had drawn him to these wilds? Had he no connection with them? Had he not from his infancy repeated, in the congregation of his people [Church], the laws which, from the awful summit of these surrounding mountains, the Father of all had Himself delivered for the government of mankind? These Arabia laws regulated his life. And the wanderings of an Arabian tribe in this 'great and terrible wilderness,' under the immediate direction of the Creator, sanctified by his miracles, governed by his counsels, illumined by his presence, had been the first and guiding history that had been entrusted to his young intelligence, from which it had drawn its first pregnant examples of human conduct and divine interposition, and formed its first dim conceptions of the relations between man and God. Why, then, had he a right to be here! He had a connection with these regions; they had a hold upon him. He was not here like an Indian Brahmin, who visits Europe from a principle of curiosity, however rational or however refined. The land which the Hindu visits is not his land, nor his father's land; the laws which regulate it are not his laws, and the faith which fills its temples is not the revelation that floats upon his sacred Ganges. But for this English youth, words had been uttered and things done, more than thirty centuries ago, in this stony wilderness, which influenced his opinions and regulated his conduct every day of his life, in that distant and seagirt home, which, at the time of their occurrence, was not as advanced in civilization as the Polynesian groups or the islands of New Zealand. The life and property of England are protected by the laws of Sinai. The hard-working people of England are secured in every seven days a day of rest by the laws of Sinai. And yet they persecute the Jews, and hold up to odium the race to whom they are indebted for the sublime legislation which alleviates the inevitable lot of the labouring multitude! ... 'Then I have a right to be here,' said Tancred of Montacute, as his eyes were fixed in abstraction on the stars of Arabia; 'I am not a traveling dilettante, mourning over a ruin, or in ecstasies over a deciphered inscription. I come to the land whose laws I obey, whose religion I profess, and seek, upon its sacred soil, those sanctions which for ages were abundantly accorded..."

Student Resource 5-D

From the letters of Gertrude Bell to her father, Hugh Bell [36]

To H. B.
Damascus, November 29th, 1913.

I sent you today a telegram which I fear will rather surprise you asking you to make the National Bank telegraph £400 to my credit through the Ottoman Bank London to the Ottoman Bank here. I telegraphed to you because I did not know whether if I telegraphed straight to the National Bank they would think the request sufficient without receiving it in writing, but I hasten to explain to you (which I could not do in the telegram) that this is not a gift for which I am asking. I wish to borrow the money from the N. Bank. The position is this: As far as I can make out and I have now had a good deal of information from many sides, there never was a year more favourable for a journey into Arabia than this. The desert is absolutely tranquil and there should be no difficulty whatever in getting to Hayil, that is Ibn al-Rashid's capital and even much further. Moreover I have got today exactly the right man as a guide. He was with Mr. Carruthers 3 years ago. I heard of him with the highest praise from him. Today he turned up at Bassam's and Bassam at once told me that I could not have one who is better acquainted than he with the Arab tribes. To have got him is a piece of extraordinary good luck. He is the man of all others who I should have chosen. So much for the chances of success in this business. As for the expenses, you see this time I have to begin by buying everything I shall need here. As far as I can make out we shall need 17 camels (we have bought one or two already) and they cost an average of £13 a piece including their gear. Bassam says I must reckon to spend £50 on food to take with us, £50 or more for presents such as cloaks, keffeyehs for the head, cotton cloth, etc. It is obvious that this is wise advice because the things are worth much more there than they are here and a kerchief which costs only 5s. [shillings] here is a respectable present in the desert. That comes altogether to £321. Bassam says I ought to take £80 with me and to give £200 to the Nejd merchant who lives here in return for a letter of credit which will permit me to draw the sum in Hayil. I think both these sums are reckoned very liberally but I don't like to provide myself with less money lest when I get into the heart of Arabia (Inshallah [God-willing in Arabic]) I should not be able to do anything for want of funds. You will see that I have now come to a total of £601. I could not possibly explain in my telegram so I attempted to explain nothing but I hope you will not say No. It is unlikely that you will because you are such a beloved father that you never say No to the most outrageous demands—perhaps it is a pity that you don't. I am practically using all my next year's income for this journey, but if I sit very quiet and write a book of it the year after I don't see why I shouldn't be able to pay it all back. And the book ought to be worth something if I really get to Nejd and beyond..."

To H.B.
23rd April, 1914

Behold I'm 11 days out from Baghdad and I have not begun to tell you my tale. I have been put to it to get through the long days and I have been too tired at the end of them to write. I drove out from Baghdad to Feluja, on the Euphrates, having arranged that my camels were to leave Baghdad the previous day and meet me at Feluja. The day they left Ali made an unjustifiable request—that I should take a cousin of his with us, the cousin wishing to escape military service. I refused and Ali struck. Fattuh [her servant] got him and the camels off with great difficulty late at night; in consequence they had not arrived when I reached Feluja—and when they came Ali had brought the cousin with him! I was very angry, Ali was in the Devil's own temper and I dismissed him on the spot to find his way back to Baghdad with the cousin. He has given me a great deal of trouble. I have put up with a great deal for the sake of long acquaintance, but gross insubordination I won't stand and there is an end of him. My party therefore was Fattuh, Sayyif and Fellah (the negro) and I was left without a guide for the Syrian desert. I am traveling very light with two small native tents, a bed on the ground, no furniture, no nothing—for speed's sake. We pitched our tiny camp half-an-hour out of Feluja in the Dulaim tents—it was blazing hot, and what with the heat and the hardness of the ground (to which I have now grown accustomed) I did not sleep much. Next day we rode along the high road to Ramadi on the Euphrates, where lives the chief Sheikh of the Dulaim. I went straight to him. He received me most cordially, lodged me in his palm garden, gave me a great feast and a rafiq from his own household, Adwan, a charming man. It was blazing hot again and noisy, dogs and people talking, and I slept less than ever. We were off before dawn and struck south west into the desert to the pitch springs of Abu Jir. We arrived in a dust storm, the temperature was 91° and it was perfectly disgusting. The following day was better, as hot as ever, but no dust storms. We rode on west into the desert. Two days more, west and slightly north, with the temperature falling, thank Heaven, brought us up on to the post road and here we fell in with the Sheikh of the Anazeh and I took a new rafiq from him, Assaf is his name, and very reluctantly said good-bye to Adwan. We rode down the following day to Muhaiwir in the Wadi Hauran, where I had been 3 years ago. The world was full of Anazeh tents and camels—a wonderful sight. It meant, too, that with my Anazeh rafiq I was perfectly safe. And in two more days we came to the great sheikh of all these eastern Anazeh, Fahad Bey, and I alighted at his tents and claimed his hospitality. He treated me with fatherly kindness, fed me, entertained me and advised me to take a second rafiq, a man of the Rawalla, who are the western Anazeh. I spent the afternoon planning a ruin [drawing an archaeological plan of] near him—town, actually a town in the heart of the Syrian desert! Only the fortified gate was planable, the rest was mere stone heaps, but it throws a most unexpected light on the history of the desert. There was most certainly a settled population at one time in these eastern parts. We had violent thunderstorms all night and yesterday, when I left Fahad, a horrible day's journey in the teeth of a violent wind and through great scuds of rain. Today, however, it has been very pleasant. I have been following the old road which I came out to find and am well content to have my anticipations justified. We came to a small ruin in the middle of the day which I stopped to plan. Fahad told me that the desert from the camp to Bukhara is 'Khala,' empty, i.e., there are no Bedouin camped in it. I like solitary camps and the desert all to myself, but it has the drawback of not being very safe. With our two rafiqs no Anazeh of any kind will touch us, but there is always the chance of a ghazu [raid]. Very likely they would do us no harm, but one cannot be sure. However, so far I have run my own show quite satisfactorily and it amuses me to be tongue and voice for myself, as I have been these days. But I am tired, and being anxious to get through and be done with travel, we are making long marches, 9 and 10 hours. Oh, but they are long hours, day after day in the open wilderness! I have come in sometimes more dead than alive, too tired to eat and with just enough energy to write my diary. We are now up nearly a couple of thousand feet and I am beginning to feel better. "

Lesson 6: Literary Figures

Lesson Objectives

- Students will identify some literary figures who traveled to Muslim regions or featured them in prose and poetry.
- Students will expand their understanding of romanticism by exploring specific expressions of romantic imagery.
- Students will analyze attitudes about the relationship between East and West expressed in verbal imagery and explore how these works may have influenced attitudes in the larger society of the 19th century.

Lesson Activities

1. Study excerpts 6-A through 6-E in order to determine the degree of each writer's affinity or bond with Eastern life and culture. Order the writers in sequence from the least affinity to the most. In discussion, contrast the degree to which each writer expresses the depth of the divide between East and West, or the notion that values and ways of life are in fact shared in the two regions.
2. Read Stevenson's poem, excerpt 6-E. Then, carry out the following tasks in small groups or assign to individuals:
   (a) List the various geographic areas mentioned as images in the poem. (Examples: "where the golden apples grow" [allusion to Greek myth], "parrot islands," "forests of apes and coconuts," jungles with man-eating tigers, "where the red flamingo flies," "Eastern cities," "where a comer-by be seen, swinging in a palanquin," etc.) Use reference books or CD-ROM, atlases, and the historical map on page 80 to identify the regions described with the colonial possessions of one of the Great Powers during the time when the poem was written.
   (b) Identify types of traveler or careers in Western colonial possessions to which a young child of the period might aspire. For each, role play the fantasies of glory or romance outlined in the poem by dramatizing a character of the period. **Variation**: research actual travelers whose careers correspond to these fantasies and act them out, using costumes and props, if desired.
3. **Optional Enrichment Activity**: Have students research other 19th century literary figures who visited or wrote about the East, and have each student select short excerpts from their work, comparing the writer's attitudes and treatment of the subject with the literary works excerpted in this lesson.

4. **Culminating Activities for the Unit**:
   (a) Choose one or more excerpts from this unit. In an essay, summarize the writer's attitudes toward the cultures they encountered in travel, and analyze what social and historical factors you think led him or her to hold those attitudes. In the second part of the essay, describe your own response to the writer's personality and social attitudes, and your own impressions of the cultures described in the travel account.
   (b) Design a project or prepare a presentation that describes current attitudes in the West concerning the Muslim society and culture, using newspaper and magazine clippings, Internet resources, artworks or expressions of popular culture. Annotate your presentation, analyzing how your selected examples reflect these perceptions, and to what extent you believe that these attitudes show continuity with images of an "Orient" that developed during the 19th century. How "realistic" is the image of "the Other "reflected in popular understanding, and how do cultural filters "color" what we see in Others?
   (c) Select one type of traveler (see lesson titles) and research twentieth century events to determine how the information transmitted to the West by various travelers affected policies and future trends. For example, how has the religious bond with the Middle East affected politics in the twentieth century? What role has archaeology played in creating knowledge among people, and how has the science influenced policies on cultural sites and artifacts? In what ways did the knowledge and experiences of colonial governors and officials influence the advice they gave to governments, the press and multilateral institutions after the end of Imperial rule? Consider the influence of other cultures on the arts and literature, as well as other fields explored in this unit.

Questions to Guide Discussion

1. How does each writer express the idea that the East is somehow mysterious, and on what elements of the travelers' experience or fantasy does this mystery seem to be based?
2. How is the division between East and West expressed by each writer and how does each convey the sense of common cultural and spiritual ground between the two? Does any of the writers find a way to fully bridge the gap? Compare and contrast Goethe's and Kipling's views in excerpts 6-B and 6-C on what they see as the decisive human factor in erasing the distinction between East and West?
3. How does Gertrude Bell use the image of the garden in the desert to represent the culture of the East as a whole? Contrast her attitude here with the description from her travels in the Arabian desert, written two decades later. How has her attitude and relationship with the region and its culture changed?
4. In what ways does each writer make the experience of travel in the East seem desirable? To what types of motivation in individual readers' personalities would each account most appeal? How do these works fit into the context of 19th-century Romanticism?

Background for Students

Literature Featuring Eastern Travel

The experience of travel, its tales and images of romance and adventure often appeared in popular literature of the nineteenth century. From parlor and salon to schoolroom and nursery, literary reflections on the wide world outside Europe's borders was a fascinating mode of transmitting travel experiences to the stay-at-home audience. These widely-read works helped shape the way people in the West viewed other cultures.

Johann von Goethe, often called Germany's greatest poet, traveled in Italy from 1786 to 1788. There he decided to devote the rest of his life to writing. Goethe withdrew from public life after his return, and produced outstanding literary and scientific achievements. Goethe was exposed to translations of Islamic poetry and philosophy in German intellectual circles, where Oriental studies were blossoming as a discipline. From about 1814 to 1819, he wrote the *West-Eastern Divan* to express his deep respect for Islamic religion and Muslim thought. *Divan*, a traditional Persian and Arabic term for a poet's work, was written in oriental style, some poems modeled on verses from the Qur'an, others on famous Persian poets. One 19th-century reviewer said, "*The charm of the book is inexplicable; it is a votive nosegay sent from the West to the East, ... This nosegay signifies that the West is tired of thin and icy-cold spirituality, and seeks warmth in the strong and healthy bosom of the East.*" The Divan demonstrates the bond that Goethe felt with the East and his willingness to give himself up to understand others' ideas. There is considerable evidence in Goethe's own statements, letters, and poems, as well as information from near friends, that he accepted Islam near the end of his life.

The work of Rudyard Kipling (1865-1936) was based on his travels throughout the British Empire. Born in Bombay, India, he was educated in England. Returning to India, worked for the British colonial press as a journalist and wrote stories, satire, and verse. His work shows deep knowledge and appreciation of Eastern lands and cultures. The *Just So Stories*, for example, use literary images and sources from India, Africa, and the Near East. His writings also project ideas of patriotism, England's destiny as a great empire, and Englishmen's duty and character. His work was very popular, and in 1907, he was the first English author awarded the Nobel Prize in literature. Kipling is a masterful storyteller and outstanding poet whose work is still widely read.

This steel engraving by William Finden (1787-1852) shows the famous English poet Lord Byron in the dress of a Turkish Albanian. It was drawn from the romantic painting by Thomas Phillips (1770-1845) in which Byron is shown gazing away from some classical ruins toward a thundery sky. The actual clothing is still in a museum in England. Images of the East featured as a prominent aspect of Byron's writing, he exemplifies in many ways the romantic sojourner.

Kipling is often viewed as a kind of "bad boy of Imperialist writers." Quotations from his work often reveal what seem like very racist and jingoistic sentiments. His work is much more complex, however, and a snippet from one of his poems is easy to misunderstand out of context. For example, one of his famous lines is "*East is East and West is West, and ne'er the twain shall meet.*" It is still quoted today to express the idea that there is no common ground between two cultural extremes. Read within the entire stanza and poem, however, the words take on a very different meaning. The ballad begins and ends with this refrain, as a story about a British and an Indian Muslim soldier. Kipling makes the point that the heroics of battle erase cultural lines in a universal human experience.

Gertrude Bell (1868-1926) the versatile traveler mentioned several times in this unit, wrote *Persian Pictures* following her first journey outside of Europe. This book, as well as her translation Persian poetry of Hafiz, were well received. She also wrote descriptions of her wide Arabian travels. Gertrude Bell's view of Middle Eastern life and culture is among the most sophisticated of her age. She wrote letters home nearly every day, kept diaries, and wrote travel books to help finance her travels. She wrote on archaeology, ethnography, literature and politics, and cartography. The reports—both secret and public—that she wrote to the British Foreign Office from Iraq after World War I, were very influential.

Robert Louis Stevenson (1850-1894) was a Scottish-American writer and poet best known for classic children's literature. Stevenson studied engineering and law, but his talent led him to a literary career. Ill with tuberculosis, he often traveled in search of warm climates, writing travel descriptions throughout his life. Stevenson wrote popular, exciting stories of adventure and fantasy, like *Treasure Island* (1883), *The Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* (1886), and *Kidnapped* (1886). His popular collection of poetry for children, *A Child's Garden of Verses* (1885), is a classic. *A Child's Garden of Verses* was popular bedtime reading in England's and America's nurseries. It became a standard reading text in primary-school classrooms, from big cities to small towns. *Travel* and many of Stevenson's other poems capture the romance of 19th-century travel and show how deeply these experiences may have affected the popular imagination.

Many other works of literature written during the nineteenth century could have been quoted here, all conveying the romance of foreign lands, and many express fascination with their landscapes and cultures, arts and languages. They are certainly worthy of study, both for the way they influenced Western culture, and for their intrinsic beauty.

Student Resource 6-A

From Johann von Goethe, *The West-Easterly Divan*, 1833

Who the song would
understand,
Needs must seek the song's
own land.
Who the minstrel understand,
Needs must seek the minstrel's
land.

Goethe on his Italian journey, 1786-1788,
oil painting by J. H. W. Tischbein.

Student Resource 6-B

On the Divan, written in 1833

He who knows himself and others
Here will also see,
That the East and West, like brothers,
Parted ne'er shall be.
Thoughtfully to float for ever
'Tween two worlds, be man's endeavour!
So between the East and West
To revolve, be my behest!

Student Resource 6-C

From *The Ballad of East and West*, by Rudyard Kipling

Oh, East is East, and West is West, and never the twain shall meet,
Till Earth and Sky stand presently at God's great Judgment Seat;
But there is neither East nor West, Border, nor Breed, nor Birth,
When two strong men stand face to face, tho' they come from the ends of the earth!

Student Resource 6-D

From Gertrude Bell, *Persian Pictures* (first published in 1894 as *Safar Nameh. Persian Pictures: A Book of Travel*).

IN PRAISE OF GARDENS

"There is a couplet in an Elizabethan book of airs which might serve at a motto for Eastern life: "Thy love is not thy love," says the author of the songs in the " Muses' Garden of Delights " (and the pretty stilted title suits the somewhat antiquated ring of the lines):

"Thy love is not, thy love if not thine own,
And so it is not, if it once be known."

If it once be known! Ah yes! the whole charm of possession vanishes before the gaze of curious eyes, and for them, too, charm is driven away by familiarity. It takes the mystery of a Sphinx to keep the world gazing for thirty centuries. The East is full of secrets—no one understands their value better than the Oriental; and because she is full of secrets she is full of entrancing surprises. M any fine things there are upon the surface: brilliance of colour, splendour of light, solemn loneliness, clamorous activity; these are only the patterns upon the curtain which floats for ever before the recesses of Eastern life: its essential charm is of more subtle quality. As it listeth, it comes and goes; it flashes upon you through the open doorway of some blank, windowless house you pass in the street, from under the lifted veil of the beggar woman who lays her hand on your bridle, from the dark, contemptuous eyes of a child; then the East sweeps aside her curtains, flashes a facet of her jewels into your dazzled eyes, and disappears again with a mocking little laugh at your bewilderment; then for a moment it seems to you that you are looking her in the face but while you are wondering whether she be angel or devil, she is gone.

She will not stay—she prefers the unexpected; she will keep her secrets and her tantalizing charm with them, and when you think you have caught at last some of her illusive grace she will send you back to shrouded figures and blank house-fronts.

You must be content to wait and perhaps some day, when you find her walking in her gardens in the cool of the evening, she will take a whim to stop and speak to you and you will go away fascinated by her courteous words and her exquisite hospitality.

For it is in her gardens that she is most herself—they share her charm, they are as unexpected as she. Conceive on every side such a landscape as the dead world will exhibit when it whirls naked and deserted through the starry interspace—a grey and featureless plain, over which the dust-clouds rise and fall, build themselves into mighty columns, and sink back again among the stones at the bidding of hot and fitful winds; prickly low-growing plants for all vegetation, leafless, with a foliage of thorns; white patches of salt, on which the sunlight glitters; a fringe of barren mountains on the horizon.... Yet in this desolation lurks the mocking beauty of the East. A little water and the desert breaks into flower, bowers of cool shade spring up in the midst of dust and glare, radiant stretches of soft colour gleam in that grey expanse. Your heart leaps as you pass through the gateway in the mud wall; so sharp is the contrast that you may stand with one foot in an arid wilderness and the other in a shadowy, flowery paradise. Under the broad thick leaves of the plane-trees tiny streams murmur, fountains splash with a sweet fresh sound, white-rose bushes drop their fragrant petals into tanks, lying deep and still like patches of concentrated shadow. The indescribable charm of a Persian garden is keenly present to the Persians themselves—the " strip of herbage strown, which just divides the desert from the sown," an endlessly beautiful parable. Their poets sing the praise of gardens in exquisite verses and call their books by their names. I fear the Muses have wandered more often in Sa'di's Garden of Roses than in the somewhat pretentious pleasure-ground which our Elizabethan writer prepared for them."

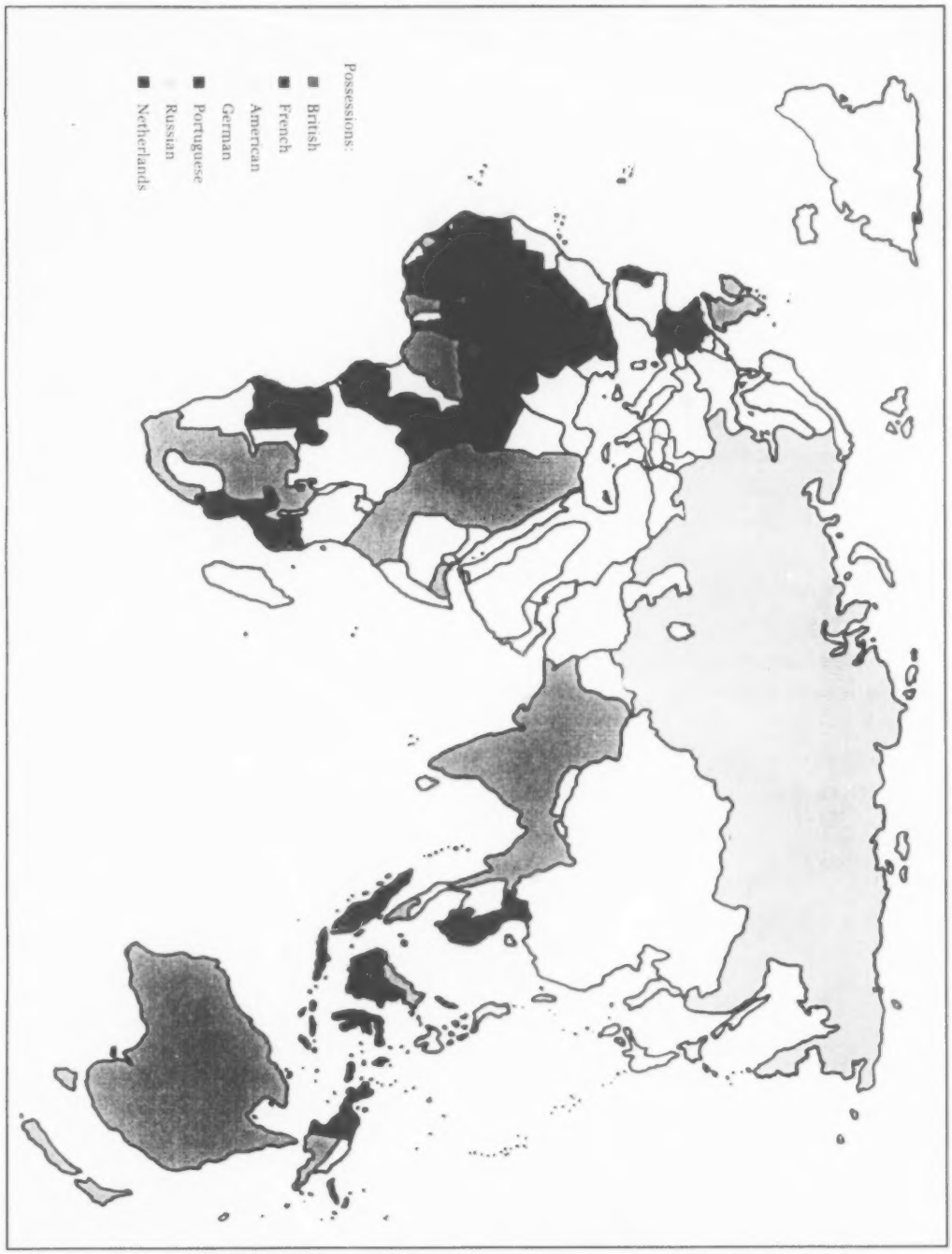
Student Resource 6-E

Robert Louis Stevenson, "Travel"

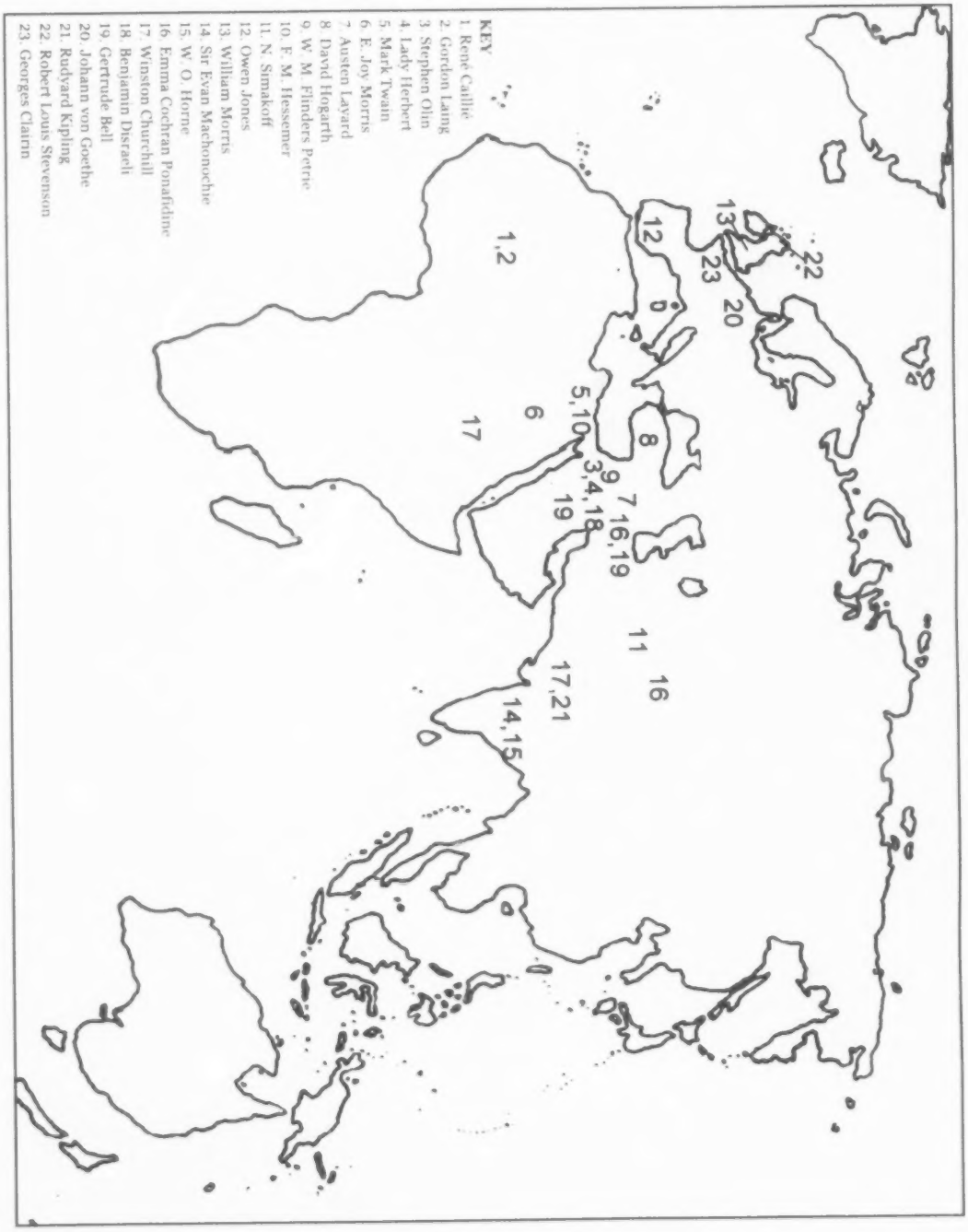
I should like to rise and go
Where the golden apples grow; —
Where below another sky
Parrot islands anchored lie,
And, watched by cockatoos and goats,
Lonely Crusoes building boats; —
Where in sunshine reaching out
Eastern cities miles about,
Are with mosque and minaret
Among sandy gardens set,
And the rich goods from near and far
Hang for sale in the bazaar; —
Where the Great Wall round China goes,
And on one side the desert blows,
And with bell and voice and drum,
Cities on the other hum; —
Where are forests, hot as fire,
Wide as England, tall as a spire,
Full of apes and cocoa-nuts
And the negro hunter's huts; —
Where the knotty crocodile
Lies and blinks in the Nile,
And the red flamingo flies
Hunting fish before his eyes; —
Where in jungles, near and far,
Man-devouring tigers are,
Lying close and giving ear
Lest the hunt be drawing near,
Or a comer-by be seen
Swinging in a palanquin; —
Where among the desert sands
Some deserted city stands,
All its children, sweep and prince,
Grown to manhood ages since,
Not a foot in street or house,
Not a stir of child or mouse,
And when kindly falls the night,
In all the town no spark of light.
There I'll come when I'm a man
With a camel caravan;
Light a fire in the gloom
Of some dusty dining room;
See the pictures on the walls,
Heroes, fights and festivals;
And in the corner find the toys
Of the old Egyptian boys.

Student Resources

Map #1: European Colonial Possessions in 1900



Map #2: Locator Map for European Travelers in this unit



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13. W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Eastern Exploration: Past and Future* (New York: Robert M. McBride and Company, 1918), pp. 84-85; 107-108.
14. Louis Vaczek and Gail Buckland, *Travelers in Ancient Lands* (Boston: New York Graphic Society, 1981), p. 97.
15. Owen Jones, *The Grammar of Ornament* (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1972), pp. 1-2.
16. Ibid., pp. 1-2.
17. Ibid., p. 66.
18. John Sweetman, *The Oriental Obsession: Islamic Inspiration in British and American Art and Architecture, 1500-1920* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p. 178.
19. Stefan Koppelkamm, *Der Imaginare Orient: Exotische Bauten des Achtzehnten und Neunzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Berlin: Ernst und Sohn, 1987), p. 88.

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20. Donald A. Rosenthal, *Orientalism: The Near East in French Painting, 1800-1880* (Rochester, NY: Memorial Art Gallery of the University of Rochester, 1982), Figure 87, page 87.
21. Sir Evan Machonochie *Life in the Indian Civil Service* (London: Chapman and Hall, Ltd., 1928), pp. 3, 31, 34, 250.
22. Ibid., p. 3.
23. Ibid., p. 31.
24. Ibid., p. p. 34.
25. Ibid., p. 250.
26. W. O. Horne, *Work and Sport in the Old I.C.S.* (London: Wm. Blackwood and Sons, 1928), p. 260.
27. Emma Cochran Ponafidine (Mme. Pierre Ponafidine), *My Life in the Moslem East* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1932), pp. 55-58; 167-169.
28. Ibid., pp. 55-58.
29. Ibid., pp. 167-169.
30. Some of these devices are: telegraph, steam-powered gunboat and transport ships, lyddite shell, Maxim gun, shrapnel shell, and magazine rifle, in addition to horse, camel, mule, and heliograph.
31. Frederick Woods, ed., *Winston Churchill: War Correspondent, 1895-1900* (London: Brassey's/ Maxwell Macmillan Group, 1992), p. 131.
32. Lady Bell, ed. *The Letters of Gertrude Bell, Volume I* (New York: Boni and Liveright, 1927), p. 353.
33. Frederick Woods, ed., *Winston Churchill: War Correspondent, 1895-1900* (London: Brassey's/ Maxwell Macmillan Group, 1992), pp. 91-92;120-121;126; 131.
34. Frederick Woods, ed., *Young Winston's Wars: The Original Despatches of Winston S. Churchill, War Correspondent 1897-1900* (London: Leo Cooper, 1972), pp. 8-10; 15-16; 18.
35. Benjamin Disraeli, *Tancred, or the New Crusade* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1871), pp. 393, 395.
36. Lady Bell, ed. *The Letters of Gertrude Bell, Volume I* (New York: Boni and Liveright, 1927), pp. 308-310; 349-353.

Annotated Bibliography

Asad, Muhammad. *The Road to Mecca.* Simon and Schuster, 1954.

Leopold Weiss was the birth name of the Austrian journalist whose parents hoped he would become a rabbi, and who first journeyed as a young man to Palestine where his cousin worked as an archaeologist. He remained in the region, becoming a Muslim, traveling as far as Iran, India and North Africa, working as a correspondent for the respected *Frankfurter Allgemeine* newspaper. He also became a confidant to Abdullah Ibn Saud, founder of the Saudi monarchy, and several other early twentieth century leaders in the Middle East. He crossed paths with T.E. Lawrence, Gertrude Bell, David Hogarth and other European travel figures. His autobiography is also a travel memoir, and covers the period up to the end of World War II, when he became Pakistan's first ambassador to the United Nations.

Bell, Gertrude. *Persian Pictures.* London: Ernest Benn, Ltd., 1947.

This small volume was written when Bell was in her twenties, on her first journey outside of Europe. It consists of a series of anecdotes and impressions of Persian life and culture, and reflections on her own travels.

Broadhurst, R. J.C., translator. *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr.* Jonathan Cape, 1952.

The translation of this 12th century pilgrimage account by a Spanish Muslim is a very important historical contribution and provides an example of a European colonial officer who took an interest in the language, culture and history of the Muslim world. Broadhurst has written a preface to his translation that is revealing of his attitudes and motivations.

DESIGN BOOKS FROM THE 19TH CENTURY:

Hessemer, F. M. *Historic Designs and Patterns in Color from Arabic and Italian Sources.* New York: Dover Publications, 1990.

Jones, Owen. *The Grammar of Ornament.* New York: Dover Publications, 1987.

Simakoff, N. *Islamic Designs in Color.* New York: Dover Publications, 1993.

These inexpensive facsimile editions of rare chromolithographs (early color reproduction technique), usually found in museums, provide teachers with an excellent teaching tool, both for showing the foundations of modern design and its multi-cultural prototypes, but also for teaching about the art of various world cultures, and comparing styles and periods.

Duel, Leo, ed. *The Treasures of Time: Firsthand Accounts by Famous Archaeologists of Their Work in the Near East.* New York: The World Publishing Company, 1961.

Excerpts from published accounts by significant archaeologists and their discoveries in the Middle East, which convey the sense of the excitement and wonder, but also hardships of excavating history. The short readings also provide cultural and historical context for the discovery process and the attitudes of these pioneering scientists.

Gardner, Brian. *The Quest for Timbuctoo.* London: Cassel, 1968.

A thorough and exciting narrative about the "mad dash" for Timbuktu that animated Europeans from medieval times onward, with emphasis on the various 19th century adventurers and explorers who attempted to achieve the goal.

General Historical Works on 18th-20th Century Travelers:

Damiani, Anita. *Enlightened Observers: British Travellers to the Near East: 1715-1850.* American University of Beirut, 1979.

Melman, Billie. *Women's Orients: English Women and the Middle East, 1718-1918.* Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1992.

Bidwell, Robin. *Travellers in Arabia.* Berkshire, UK: Garnet Publ. Ltd., 1994.

These historical works introduce and provide background on some of the most prominent and colorful figures who explored the Middle East from the 15th century to the 20th. The first two works provide more theoretical framework and utilize techniques of literary criticism to analyze the travel experiences and their cultural meaning. The third book listed assesses the personalities and accounts produced by travelers in the Arabian Peninsula, providing a lively and thorough overview of pre-modern and modern exploration of that specific region.

Moorehead, Alan. *The White Nile.* Vintage/Random House, 1983/87.

The author narrates the search for the source of the White Nile in tropical Africa, with extensive historic illustrations, assessing the personalities and methods of the various competing claimants to success, fame and scientific achievement. In the process, the reader learns a great deal about the politics and economics of exploration and the territorial expansion by European powers that often resulted from it. The geography, societies of the explorer nations and the African regions explored as well as a number of individual personalities involved on the African and European sides are illuminated.

Said, Edward. *Orientalism.* New York: Random House, 1978.

This extended essay is a seminal work explaining the definition, formation and effects of "Orientalism" as a body of scholarly work with important implications for relations between the West and other societies. The book has been very controversial and very influential in the disciplines of literary criticism, area studies and history, even beyond the Asian and African regions Said discusses.

Sweetman, John. *The Oriental Obsession: Islamic Inspiration in British and American Architecture, 1500-1920.* London: Cambridge University Press, 1988.

This heavily illustrated book demonstrates the wide range of influence of Islamic art and architecture in European design as it underwent a transformation of style during the industrial age. The book covers fantasy architecture patronized by wealthy individuals as well as public buildings like exhibition halls, factories and railway stations. From book illustration to painting and interior design, utensils and textiles, the author documents the important personalities, design trends and their transmission from the East, and discusses its meaning within European culture.

TRAVEL NARRATIVES AND MEMOIRS:

Caillié, Rene. *Travels through Central Africa to Timbuctoo, Performed in the Years 1824-1828, vol. 2.* London: Frank Cass & Co., Ltd., 1968.

Cochran Ponafidine, Emma. *My Life in the Moslem East.* Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1932.

Herbert, Lady _____. *Cradle Lands.* New York: The Catholic Publication Society, 1869.

Machonochie, Sir Evan. *Life in the Indian Civil Service.* London: Chapman and Hall, Ltd., 1928.

Morris, E. Joy. *Notes of a Tour through Arabia Petraea to the Holy Land, vol 2.* Philadelphia: Carey and Hart, 1842.

Olin, Stephen. *Travels in Egypt, Arabia Petraea and the Holy Land, Vol. 1 & 2.* New York: Arno Press, 1977.

A search for 19th century regional travel literature will locate hundreds and perhaps thousands of volumes by individual adventurers, tourists, missionaries, officials and others. Travel accounts by Christian pilgrims to the Holy Land reveal the existence of a standard itinerary that included Egypt and parts of modern Jordan and Syria. Beyond that category, the variety of travel literature is astounding and unpredictable, but this body of work displays many parallel themes, attitudes and other characteristics.

Vaczek, Louis and Gail Buckland. *Travelers in Ancient Lands: A Portrait of the Middle East, 1839-1919.* Boston: New York Graphic Society, 1981.

A history of photography in the region from its origins to the end of World War I, the book describes the technical development of photography and how it affected professional photographers and casual travelers, gives a detailed overview of the various categories of photography and the purposes they served, and the cultural role they played in creating an image of the region in the West.

Wallach, Janet. *Desert Queen.* New York: Nan A. Talese/Doubleday, 1996.

An outstanding biography of the fascinating and versatile woman who spans all of the travel categories covered in this unit, with photographs. Wallach relies on Gertrude's own description of her life and thoughts from her copious letters, reports and literary works, as well as on the writings of those who knew and worked with her, in addition to a wealth of historical information and analysis.

Woods, Frederick, ed. *Winston Churchill War Correspondent, 1895-1900.* London: Brassey's/Maxwell Macmillan Group, 1992.

The collection gives the uncut texts of the ostensibly private, but sometimes published letters young Winston sent to England while traveling with the British military in a semi-official or official capacity as war correspondent in three campaigns: the Afghan wars, the expedition against the Mahdi in the Sudan, and the Boer Wars in South Africa. The dispatches are valuable for their illustration of the conditions and course of these campaigns, and for the way in which they exemplify colonial attitudes.